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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Red River metis:
The Parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's

by

Gerhard J. Ens

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Permanent Address

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and The Red River Metis: The Parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's" submitted by Gerhard J. Ens in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

J. E. Foster
(Supervisor)

John Langdon

D. J. Hall

Brian M. Smith

Jennifer S.H. Brown
(External Examiner)

Date: June 26, 1989

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study the role of economic forces in the evolution of metis identity, ethnic differentiation, and class divisions the Red River Settlement. During the period studied (1835-1890), Red River metis society and economy underwent a fundamental transition as capitalism began to transform the region.

The emergence of new economic opportunities in the 1840s acted as a centrifuge as communities and individuals increasingly were forced to make decisions of whether to participate in the commercial-capitalist fur trade (particularly the buffalo-robe trade), or to continue their peasant-subsistence mode of production (farming and hunting). The choice was made all the more decisive by the withdrawal of the buffalo westward. The parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were representative of the different patterns of adaptation.

The adaptation of some metis to the new opportunities in the capitalistic fur trade, effected a transformation of their family economy. Production of buffalo robes for market and profit, rather than subsistence, entailed a proto-industrialization of the metis family economy. This development had implications for metis family formation and fertility. As the labour of wives, children as well as the husband became crucial in the preparation of robes for market, earlier marriage and large families became economically advantageous. Additionally, earnings not property became the pre-requisite for family formation and marriage. Involvement in the buffalo-robe trade after the 1840s also resulted in increased emigration from Red River as the buffalo moved westward. This emigration of metis from Red River in response to economic opportunities, sheds new light on the dispersal of the metis after 1870. The turn away from agriculture towards a capitalistic buffalo-robe trade by some metis, has in the past been seen as a return to primitivism, with the more sedentary agricultural metis regarded as

the more progressive. Returns from the trade and the emergence of a wealthy class of metis merchant traders, however, indicate that the adaptation to the new buffalo-robe trade might easily be seen was the more "progressive" of the two.

These new economic opportunities and activities not only split the metis along occupational lines, but began to bifurcate metis society along economic or class lines. Social and economic divisions within metis society became much more distinct in the 1850s and 1860s. There arose an identifiable metis bourgeoisie or merchant class which employed large numbers of metis as labourers. With this, and as the HBC increasingly hired metis labourers for its boat and cart brigades, a metis labouring class emerged. That there was a clear absence of identity between metis groups can be seen in the Riel Resistance of 1869-70. This complex political event can neither be seen as a national uprising of the metis, nor a racial civil war. It had economic aspects that pitted French metis against French metis, while allying some groups of English and French metis.

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Introduction

Almost all historical accounts of the western metis have been written either from the perspective of the political history of Canada or from that of the fur trade. These two approaches, although quite productive, have presented quite different, even contradictory, portraits of the metis. The first approach, concentrating on the political struggles of 1869-70 and the Rebellion of 1885, has emphasized metis unity and the rise of a 'New Nation.' Examples of this approach are the works of A. H. de Trémaudan, George F. G. Stanley, and, to a lesser extent, D. N. Sprague.[1] The other approach, concentrating on the fur trade origins of the metis, has emphasized ethnic diversity and the different cultural origins of the Red River metis. The works of Jennifer Brown and John Foster are representative of this approach.[2]

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[1] A. H. de Trémaudan, Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest canadien (Montreal: Levesque, 1936). George F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1936). D. N. Sprague, The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement 1820-1900 (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983). See also his Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885 (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1988).

[2] Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980). John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1966); and "The Plains Metis," in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, eds. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986). For an example of this approach applied to other metis populations further west and in the east see Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown eds., The New Peoples: Being and becoming Métis in North America, Manitoba Studies in Native History I (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1985).

Both of these perspectives present numerous limitations to understand the evolving metis society at Red River.[3] To resolve some of these problems a different approach has been adopted -- one which concentrates on economic and demographic factors examined at the level of a comparative community study. This approach allows for a detailed examination of metis responses to the economic and political transformation occurring in the western interior, while at the same time delineating the lines of unity and division within their society. Before this perspective is outlined in detail, however, the contours of the debate surrounding the Red River metis must be reviewed to highlight the problems and questions raised by previous scholarship.

One of the most influential exponents of the "political conflict--cultural conflict" school of metis studies prior to the 1970s was George Stanley. Stanley acknowledged that there were differences between the English-metis and French-metis communities at Red River, but he argued they were linked by ties of blood, by their territorial claims through their Indian ancestry, and by their use of common Indian languages. This metis unity was further emphasized by placing metis history in the context of the inevitable clash arising out of the expansion of an industrial civilization into regions inhabited by peoples whose cultural patterns were still based on a hunting or a rudimentary agricultural economy. Stanley saw the troubles in the Northwest (both in 1869 and in 1885) not as primarily racial or religious in nature, but as "normal" frontier problems -- the clash between primitive and civilized peoples. From this perspective, the metis were subsumed in a single identity.[4] Douglas Sprague, writing almost fifty years after Stanley had formulated his thesis, jettisoned Stanley's civilization-primitivism dichotomy, but likewise emphasized metis unity. He argued that, although the French and English metis were separated by language, by religion, and by geography in village parishes, they had a similar economy and social structure, and they had united politically in the Sayer trail of 1849 and in the Riel Resistance of 1869.[5]

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[3] It should be said that fur trade scholars have not mainly been focussed on the metis of Red River, nor even on metis history as such.

[4] Writing in the 1930s, Stanley's perspective was coloured by the increasing impoverishment of the metis during the depression, which he saw as indicative of their eventual disappearance. As such, Stanley placed the metis within the "vanishing Indian" tradition which went back to the 18th and 19th century. This tradition held that the Indians were a vanishing race; that they had been wasting away since the day the white man arrived, diminishing in vitality and numbers until, in some not too distant future, no "red man" would be left on the earth. This view imbued Stanley's work with an

Fur trade historians, on the other hand, have emphasized diversity. Jennifer Brown, in studying the origins and social and domestic relations of the two major fur trading companies in the Canadian west, the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company, detailed the divergent patterns of family formation associated with the two companies. The biracial progeny of these fur trade alliances, many of whom settled in the Red River Settlement, differed widely in both familial, career, and cultural orientations. Some, raised among their mothers' bands, were not impelled to seek a non-Indian political or ethnic identity. Others, whose fathers took special care to educate and place them in British and Canadian society, assumed a Canadian or European identity. Still others, according to Brown, were those company offspring who lacked either paternal resources or direction, or both, and who usually remained as "halfbreeds" or "metis" in the Northwest. These offspring were additionally divided along old company lines, occupational pursuits, and language.[6] John Foster elucidated some of

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ethnocentrism which saw the metis inevitably reduced to a state of subordination and dependence. It expressed the bias that white civilization was superior to primitive society, implicitly justifying Canadian expansion and colonialism by making it seem inevitable. See his "The Metis and the Conflict of Culture in Western Canada," Canadian Historical Review 28 (1947). For an analysis of the vanishing Indian tradition in American history see Brian Dippie, The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and United States Indian Policy (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982).

[5] See D. N. Sprague and R. P. Frye, The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation, 21-26; P. R. Mailhot and D. N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Metis, 1870-1885," Canadian Ethnic Studies XVII (1985). Most of Sprague's other work on the Manitoba Land Question assumes a unity of interests and behaviour.

[6] Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 216-220.

these divisions in an ethnohistorical study of the mixed-blood progeny of Hudson's Bay Company servants between the years 1820 and 1850.[7] In emphasizing their distinctive origins and development, as opposed to those of the buffalo-hunting Plains Metis, Foster reinforced the view of Red River as a complex variegate society. He did not, however, see social and racial antagonism as the norm, but showed the "Country-born" as enjoying close relations with persons belonging to other communities in Red River and acting as cultural bridges.

Marcel Giraud's Le Métis Canadien,[8] published in 1945, had to some extent avoided the pitfalls of concentrating only on the fur trade origins of the metis or their political struggles. In this work, Giraud depicted the origin of the metis in fur trade practices, their rise to group consciousness, their half-century of coherent life in Red River, and their inevitable collapse as a community. Within this structure, Giraud made a number of solid contributions to metis scholarship. He identified two separate cultural antecedents, the St. Lawrence tradition and the Hudson's Bay tradition, within their common maternal ancestry and their dependence on the fur trade. He also attempted to trace the social structure within metis society and to demonstrate how their blend of agriculture and buffalo hunting represented a compromise between civilization and primitivism. The metis in Giraud's view, however, were not equipped to deal with the new economic order, and were submerged in the land rush after 1870. His analysis, therefore, concentrated on the metis who left Red River and Manitoba for the Northwest, where they attempted to rebuild their traditional life. There is no examination or analysis of the significant number of metis who remained behind in Red

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[7] John E. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973).

[8] Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945). This work has recently been translated into English in two volumes, Marcel Giraud, The Metis in the Canadian West, translated by George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986).

River. The Rebellion of 1885, along with the disappearance of the buffalo, represented for Giraud the death of a coherent people and a unique community; it was the triumph of civilization over primitivism as the metis were reduced to a marginal life in the bush.

Giraud's study, although remaining a starting point for all historians of the metis, has a number of serious defects. The book appears to begin as a study in miscegenation, but quickly shifts toward historical and cultural evolution. His initial definition of metis is biological, but he never pursues those individuals of mixed ancestry who lived their lives as Indians or Euro-Canadians. Similarly, though the biological basis of his term gives way to a cultural and historical identification, the legacy of his initial definition is found throughout the work.[9] His initial biological emphasis tends to obscure the distinctiveness of the origins of different metis communities; metis who are not buffalo hunters appear simply as cultural variants of this main stock. This, in turn, involves a more basic methodological problem -- that of conceptualization. Giraud's study involves the matching of behaviour identified in the documents with elements in the cultural antecedents of the metis, and demonstrating the logical association of the two in terms of fur trade circumstances. Although the results are plausible, they tend to obscure sequences of experience in the origins and development of metis communities. The nature and types of sequences are not clear, especially the familial context of metis society and economy. In the final analysis then, Giraud's perspective is not so different from that of Stanley in grouping the metis under an overarching biological and cultural category. It is not coincidental that Giraud adopted Stanley's model of cultural conflict between "civilized" and "primitive" peoples.[10]

---

[9] This analysis of the methodological problems of Giraud's study is based on John E. Foster's, "Some questions and perspectives on the problem of metis roots," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds., The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America, 75-77.

These two basic approaches have produced a confusion of terminology. Those historians emphasizing metis unity and nationhood have used the term "Métis" (capitalized in English language usage as for national identities) or "Halfbreed" to apply to all descendants of European and Indian marriages. Fur-trade historians, on the other hand, showing a sensitivity to varying cultural origins, have introduced a plethora of terms reflecting the labels that the historical actors themselves used ("Country-born," "Hudson's Bay English," "Rupertslanders," "Halfbreed," "métis," "Brulés," "Native"). The convention adopted in this study is to use the lower case "m" metis (unaccented) as a generic term to designate all communities associated with niches in the fur trade to which neither indigenous Indian households nor European households had responded. It includes both the historical métis who arose in the St. Lawrence - Great Lakes trading system, including its extension to the Pacific and Arctic coasts, who chose to see themselves in various collectivities distinct from their Indian neighbours and the 'white' community; and those individuals of mixed Indian and European ancestry who arose in the Hudson's Bay trading system and held similar views as to their relations with Indians and whites.[11] The generic term "metis" facilitates analytical conceptualization and simultaneously allows for the differentiation of separate communities within it. It is particularly suited to the study of smaller geographic communities, which could contain metis of distinct cultural orientations.

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[10] While there is no evidence that the two were in touch, Giraud listed Stanely book in his bibliography and accepted Stanley's history of the two Riel "rebellions" as authoritative calling it "scientific history."

[11] This usage borrows from ideas developed by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Jacqueline Peterson in the introduction to The New Peoples, and by John Foster in "The Plains Metis." Brown and Foster also employ the Upper case "M" Metis term as a socio-cultural and political term to apply to those of mixed ancestry who evolved into a distinct indigenous people during a certain historical period in a certain region of Canada, and who would have used the term Metis to identify themselves. This Upper case "M" Metis is not used in this study. For a more involved discussion of the problem of terminology in metis historiography see: Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories," in Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference, edited by Carol M. Judd and A. J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); John E. Foster, "The Metis: the people and the term," Prairie Forum 3, No. 1 (1978).

A second problem in both the fur trade school of metis scholarship, and the political conflict--cultural conflict school, is their failure to address the question how economic change affected metis identity and society in Red River. In their concern with metis origins, fur trade historians have generally failed to incorporate economic change and political conflict into their studies of metis culture. Their studies, while not primarily concerned with metis history, seldom follow the metis past the point of "ethnogenesis," and in the context of the Red River Settlement, seldom past the mid-nineteenth century.

Giraud and Stanley deal with economic change and political conflict but stereotype the metis as a primitive people unable to adjust to civilized society. Consequently, metis society was viewed as a product of a nomadic frontier, and at best a precursor to a more settled and agricultural society. There was little attention given to metis agriculture, or the extent to which the metis themselves had adapted to the emerging merchant capitalism in Red River. D. N. Sprague, on the other hand, premised his work on the land controversies of the 1870s, which, he argued, demonstrated that the metis were a settled and persistent population.[12] Their dispossession and dispersal after 1870 represented the outcome of a deliberate attempt on the part of the Canadian Government to appropriate Red River from the metis.[13] The settled image of the metis economy and society in Red River was assumed by Sprague to have been the case throughout the Settlement's past and applied equally to all metis communities. However this image of the metis past has not been sustained in his work. The major thrust of his research has dealt with the dispossession of the metis after 1870, with little analysis of metis life in Red River previous to this date. Although Sprague has listed massive amounts of family data relating to the Red River metis, he has utilized little of this demographic data to examine the dynamics of the society and economy of the metis at the community level. His arguments regarding the dispossession and exodus of the metis have relied more on the correspondence of the Department of Justice and the analysis of changes to the Manitoba Act than on a close study of metis responses to a changing political economy.

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[12] D. N. Sprague was retained by the Manitoba Metis Federation to undertake a quantitative reconstruction of the metis population of Red River and examine the alienation of metis land.

[13] Sprague's argument can be found in the introduction to D. N. Sprague and R. P. Frye, eds., The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation; P. R. Mailhot and D. N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Metis, 1870-1885," Canadian Ethnic Studies XVII (1985); D. N. Sprague, "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887," Manitoba Law Journal 10, No. 4 (1980); "The Manitoba Land Question 1870-1882," Journal of Canadian Studies 15, No.

Both approaches thus leave a large number of questions regarding the Red River metis unanswered. What were the social relations among the various metis communities in the settlement? Was there a significant amount of inter-marriage across religious and linguistic boundaries? What were the major economic factors affecting marriage and kinship patterns? At what points did metis individuals break community lines and promote interests that conflicted with or transcended matters of ethnicity and culture? Finally, how did the evolving Red River economy affect family, community, and ethnic dynamics in the Settlement, and what effect did this have on the Resistance of 1869-70 and metis persistence in Red River?

To answer these questions, and to bridge the interpretive and chronological gulf outlined above, a different perspective is needed. This study takes as its starting point Irene Spry's concept of "The Great Transformation" which she argued took place in the Canadian west from the 1840s to the 1890s. During this period, resources underwent a transition from "common property" resources to "open access" resources, and finally, to

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3, (1980); and Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885.

"private property."[14] In effect, it was a period in which the market economy and capitalism "recreated" the region of western Canada.[15] The metis were not simply victims[16] of this transformation; rather, they adapted quickly to changed economic conditions, and were instrumental in the process. The economic changes occurring in the 1840s signalled an increasing metis participation in the world of mercantile capitalism. This participation was manifested in a number of ways, and included increasing metis involvement in the new capitalistic markets in the region. As well, the metis experienced changes in household and family dynamics, and among some communities a decline in subsistence agriculture. At the same time there was an increased geographic mobility among the Red River metis. These changes can best be understood as part of the transition from peasant society[17] to a capitalist society in the region.[18] In these historical circumstances, the concept of class along with kinship and ethnicity appears to offer a useful analytical construct in understanding metis behaviour in Red River.

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[14] Irene Spry, "The Great Transformation: The Disappearance of the Commons in Western Canada," in Man and Nature on the Prairies, ed., R. A. Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1976), 21-45.

[15] Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 4.

[16] George Stanley had earlier placed metis history in the context of the expansion of an industrialized civilization; in his view, however, the metis were only unwilling victims in the path of capitalism.

[17] The use of the term "peasant" and its applicability to the metis of Red River are discussed in more detail in Chapter III, however, the general approach taken is that there was no "pure" or "traditional" type of peasant household. Among peasants there are different peasantries, and the concept has been usefully applied not only to societies in Europe but also to societies in Latin America, Africa and North America. The value of any concept lies in its ability to illuminate and explain empirical data when used in a theoretical argument.

[18] THis kind of economic organization my be briefly defined by: (1) private ownership and control of the economic instruments of production, i.e. capital; (2) the gearing of economic activity to making profits; (3) a market framework that regulates this activity; (4) the appropriation of profits by the owners of capital; (5) the provision of labour by workers who are free agents. See Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner, eds. The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, 2nd edition (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 24-25. The most essential feature of capitalism stressed here is the production for sale in a market in which the object is to realize maximum profit. It

The effect of economic change on metis society is examined in the context of a comparative community study -- in effect a detailed local study of two Red River parishes. This allows for not only the differentiation of various cultural groupings and the inclusion of political conflict, but also for an analysis of both economic and familial change. The local or case study approach to historical analysis has the advantage of permitting an inquiry sufficiently detailed to reveal fundamental historical processes. This methodology or approach also has at its core the assumption that the community or communities under study are of interest not only in themselves, but yield insights beyond the temporal and geographic boundaries that prescribe the study.[19] The concern over whether such a community is "typical" is misplaced. No community or parish is typical. What one needs to know instead is whether the area for a microstudy had specific environmental or social characteristics that influenced the data, and where the community fits in the spectrum of local variance.[20] As Allan Greer has commented, "concern about the representativeness of local monographs could well be turned around; we might well ask whether national and provincial data are 'representative' of the

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preceded the creation of factories and the application of the machine to production. It is a social not a technical organization of production.

[19] Examples of these types of studies abound in French, English and even American historiography, but are relatively rare in Canadian historiography. Some of the better Canadian examples include: Louise Dechêne, Habitants et Marchands de Montreal au XVIIe siecle (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1974); David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Donald Harmon Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

[20] See discussion of this issue in Donald Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 4-5.

experience of any human communities."[21]

The parish has been selected as the unit of comparison because the Red River parish was the focal point of the social life of the metis, as it incorporated the educational, religious, and communal needs of the inhabitants. On the advent of Confederation in 1870, the parish also became, for a time, the basis of political representation and administration. As such, parish boundaries are the most appropriate geographic boundaries for including the essential networks that give a community its identity.

The two parishes chosen for the study are St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's. The reason for their selection is largely practical. St. Francois Xavier, which was located approximately twenty miles west of the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, was founded as a Catholic mission in 1824, and was composed chiefly of French metis whose cultural antecedents were the Great Lakes metis of the St. Lawrence trading system. St. Andrew's, which was located on the Red River between Fort Garry and Lake Winnipeg, was founded by the Anglican Church Missionary Society in 1829 and was composed chiefly of English metis[22] formerly in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. While these two parishes do not encompass all the various metis communities in the Red River Colony, they do represent a broad spectrum of the metis experience in the Settlement. Another practical consideration in choosing the two parishes is that both have complete parish registers beginning in 1834-35. Both parishes, although somewhat larger and

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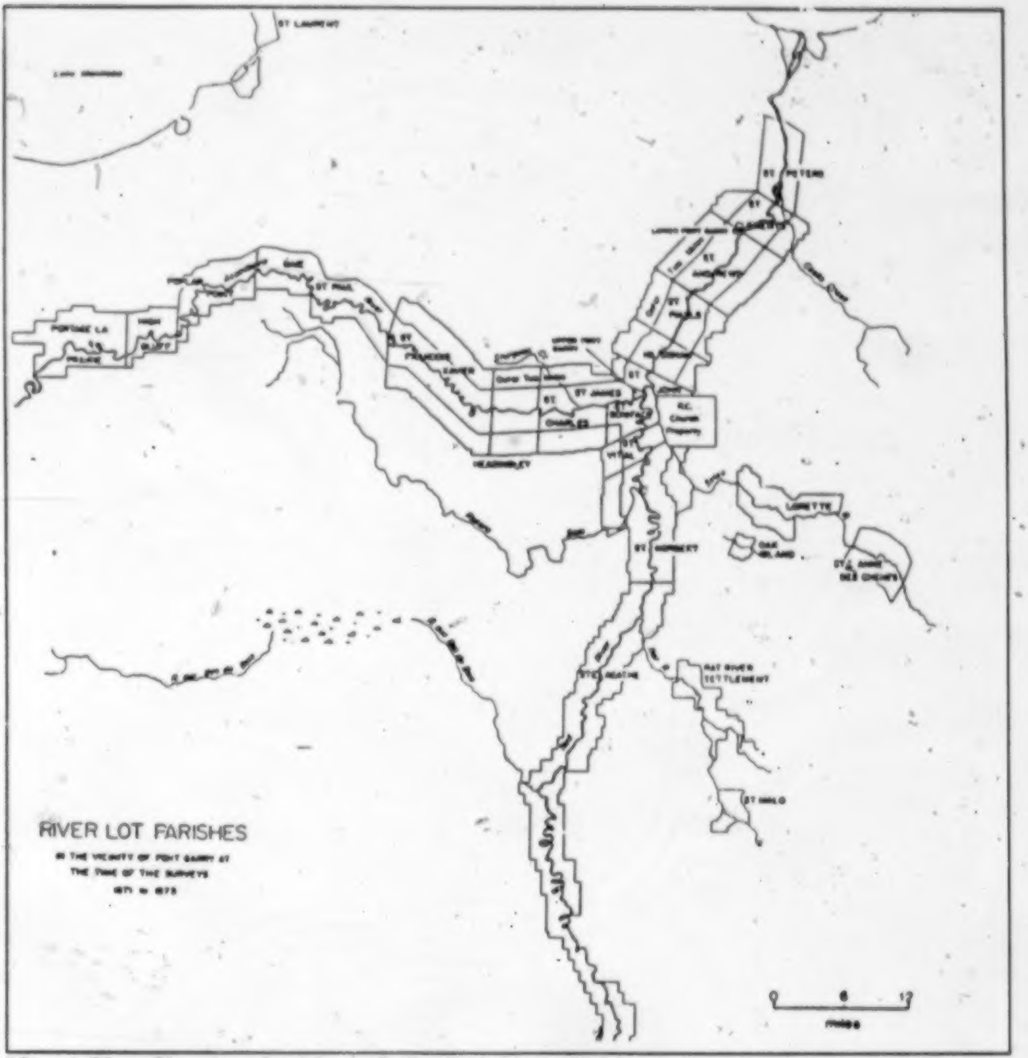
[21] Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant, xv.

[22] The terms "English metis" is used in a heuristic sense to encompass all metis children of English or anglophone fathers. It is not a term these individuals would have used to describe themselves, but it facilitates comparison to the French metis. Rather than utilize the plethora of terms the historical actors used themselves, none of which would have been satisfactory to all in their group, the term "English metis" has been used. This makes it easier to test a number of generalizations in the literature about the unity or diversity of the various metis groups -- in particular their similarities and differences in behaviour and values.


ST LAURENT
ST PETERS
ST CLEMENTS
ST ANDREWS
ST PAULS
KILDONAN
ST JOHN
R.C. Church Property
ST JAMES
ST CHARLES
HEADINGLEY
ST FRANCOIS
ST PAUL
BAIE
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
HIGH BLUFF
ST BONIFACE
ST VITAL
ST NORBERT
LORETTE
OAK ISLAND
STE ANNE DES CHENES
STE AGATHE
RAT RIVER SETTLEMENT
ST MALO
RIVER LOT PARISHES
IN THE VICINITY OF FORT GARRY AT
THE TIME OF THE SURVEYS
1871 to 1873
0
6
12
miles

Map 1 Plan Showing Parishes of the Red River Colony more populous than many other parishes in the Settlement, were approximately the same size, each containing about 15% of the total population of the Settlement throughout the period studied.

The study divides into two parts: the first details the political economy of the two metis parishes through the nineteenth century; and the second analyzes the demography of the metis families in the two parishes. In effect, it is an attempt to approach the problems and questions outlined above at two different but related strategic levels. On one level, conventional qualitative sources and documents are used to analyse the evolving metis economy and society in the two parishes. On another level, because these conventional sources are particularly ill-suited for uncovering community and cultural dynamics at the family level (the metis authored few of the documents that record their history), recourse is also made to less conventional sources and the techniques of quantification. In particular, parish records and censuses have been extensively used to reconstitute the families in the two metis parishes. Thus, the macro-economic change in the region is related to the micro-level change in family behaviour.[23] This second section attempts to relate concrete analysis of individual and family dynamics at various points in space and time to large social structures and processes; it attempts to relate metis family dynamics to the introduction and rise of capitalism in the region.

Briefly stated, Part One traces the cultural origins of the various metis groups that settled in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's in order to outline the social characteristics that influence the data, and to indicate where each community fits in the spectrum of local variance. The evolving family economy of these metis communities is then examined for what it reveals about metis society and politics. Although it is true that the metis had some connection to commercial capitalism through the Hudson's Bay Company, it will be argued that the Red River metis economy in the 1830s could best be described as peasant. The metis bartered pemmican, dried meat and agricultural produce to the Hudson's Bay Company at an early date, but the annual demand for this produce had stabilized and was fairly constant by the 1820s, while the metis population in Red River increased rapidly.[24] Thus, by the 1830s, with no other markets, production from the hunt and farm was largely oriented to household consumption and not for market.[25] The crucial transition, it is argued, occurred in the 1840s when a new expanding competitive market for furs and provisions opened new opportunities for the Red River metis. Aggregate census data is utilized to determine to what extent the metis, in the two parishes studied, responded to these opportunities.

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[23] One of the most challenging problems that continually arises in almost all substantive fields within the social sciences is that of just how one translates back and forth between the macro level, where groups are the unit of analysis and the micro level, where the focus is on the individual and family. The problems are both conceptual and empirical. There are questions of definitions, aggregation, and the practical limitations of time-cost factors in gathering data on both levels. A detailed discussion of this problem, particularly as how it relates to statistical analysis, is John Sharples, "Collectivity, Hierarchy, and Context: The Theoretical Framework for the Aggregation Problem," Historical Methods 17, No.3 (Summer 1984).

The concept that best encompasses the metis adaptive response to these new economic opportunities is that of "proto-industrialization," or the process of industrialization before the movement of large numbers of workers to factory employment.[26] In Europe, the development of proto-industrialization varied from region to region or among crafts, but amidst all the differences it exhibited a common structural foundation. This consisted in the close association between household production based on the family economy on the one hand, and the capitalistic organization of trade, the putting out and the marketing of products, on the other.[27] This model or concept cannot simply be transformed into a historical category and be applied to the metis in a mechanical manner. Nevertheless, the term has value when used in a descriptive manner, identifying a stage in the process of the transition from peasant society to capitalism. Proto-industrialization, used in this general adjectival way, can open new perspectives for the study of metis society.

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[24] The rapid increase in population during this period was largely the result of migration into the Red River Colony. See Chapter II.

[25] As Daniel Thorner has pointed out, "We are sure to go astray if we try to conceive of peasant economies as exclusively 'subsistence' oriented and to suspect capitalism wherever the peasants show evidence of being 'market' oriented. It is much sounder to take it for granted, as a starting point, that for ages peasant economies have had a double orientation towards both. In this way, much fruitless discussion about the nature of so-called 'subsistence' economies can be avoided." Daniel Thorner, "Peasant Economy as a category in Economic History," in Peasants and Peasant Societies, ed., Theodor Shanin (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), 207.

[26] David Levine, Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism, (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 2.

In the context of Red River, proto-industrialization emerged with the breakup of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, the establishment of new markets for furs, and the increasing metis involvement in the buffalo robe trade. In particular, proto-industrialization was related to the increasing involvement of the metis in the production of buffalo robes for market, as it involved a good deal of intensive labour by all members of the family. The increasing importance of this rural or "cottage industry" had significant repercussions on the fragmentation of metis communities along socio-economic lines, the maintenance of ethnic boundaries, and the nature of the metis response to the Riel Resistance of 1869-70. Part One ends with a consideration of the interplay of metis merchant capitalism and the events of 1869-70.

Part Two of this study will test more explicitly the extent to which the economic changes, outlined in Part One, affected the demographic aspects of metis life. The fundamental unit of analysis is the metis family in the two parishes.

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[27] Hans Medick, "The Proto-industrial family economy: the structural function of household and family during the transition from Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism," Social History, No. 3, (October 1976), 296. For a fuller treatment of the concept of proto-industrialization, see Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, Jurgen Schlumbohm, Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). For a more circumspect evaluation of the term or concept, see L. A. Clarkson, Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?, Studies in Economic and Social History (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1985).

> [T]here is an underlying rationality in family formation strategies, informed by the persistent need to balance hands and mouths in the daily reproduction of family life. . . . Demographic events are thus assumed to have been responsive to contemporaneous changes in the material world.[28]

Family level statistical reports, such as nominal censuses are integrated with parish registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths to reconstitute metis families, and to establish patterns of family formation, fertility, family size, mortality, and migration patterns. Record linkage of this nature provides answers to such questions as: to what extent did kinship ties cross or remain within particular social and geographic categories, and what effects did changes in the metis family economy have on family formation, size, and persistence in the Red River Settlement? This analysis also makes it possible to determine the extent to which the metis communities in Red River were converging or diverging as Confederation approached.

Increasing metis involvement in the capitalistic buffalo robe trade took place within the context of the metis family economy. This involvement had significant repercussions on family formation, the maintenance of ethnic boundaries, and the migration and persistence of the metis in Red River. In particular, because involvement in the buffalo robe trade relied heavily on family labour, household and family size increased, and with new economic opportunities for young people, men and women married earlier than would have been the case in the 1830s. These demographic responses to economic forces consequently created conditions which profoundly influenced subsequent historical developments. The particular nature of the buffalo trade and the increasing metis participation in it, led to greater geographic mobility on the part of the Red River metis, and eventual emigration from Red River. Although there were factors which "pushed" the metis from Red River after 1870 the buffalo-robe trade was a factor which "pulled" the metis migrants from Red River at the same time.

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[28] David Levine, Reproducing Families: The Political Economy of English Population History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 8.

PART ONE

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE RED RIVER METIS

Chapter I

Historiography

In order to study metis history and its impact on western Canada, it is necessary to understand the effect of changing economic circumstances on metis society, politics and identity. Most historians of the metis acknowledge that metis "ethnogenesis" occurred when various metis collectivities were able to carve out an economic niche in the fur trade to which neither Indian nor European households had responded, and subsequently came to see themselves as distinct from their Indian neighbours and Euro-Canadians. After this point, however, little attention is paid to changing economic circumstances until the buffalo disappeared from the Canadian plains in the late 1870s -- this despite the fact that the metis had been adapting to changing economic conditions in the western interior for over a half a century. Hence, a reformulation of the political economy[1] of the Red River metis must start with an examination of past scholarship.

The Red River metis have been the subject of historical inquiry ever since the Canadian colonies became interested in western expansion in the mid-nineteenth century. As early as 1856, Alexander Ross's The Red River Settlement tried to come to grips with the character of the Scottish crofters, the metis, and the fur trade in the Red River

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[1] The term "political economy" is used here rather than "economy" because the study is less concerned with economics or even economic history than it is with the economic aspects of society. It is argued that the various metis adaptations to the changing fur trade and agricultural economies provided a basis for a social system, a political community, an economy, and particular kinship structures. Fundamental to this conception of political economy is the focus on the internal structures of social formulations and the social relations of production.

Settlement. A good deal of such early writing is of great interest and value, nevertheless it is the historical interpretations of the Metis written by professional historians that will be considered here.[2]

A representative example of the traditional English-Canadian interpretation of the Red River metis is found in the work of Chester Martin. In "The Red River Settlement," published in 1914,[3] and in "The First New Province of the Dominion," published in 1920,[4] Martin examined the metis within the context of the advancement of British political institutions and culture, and saw the Riel Resistance of 1869-70 as an extension of the racial and religious conflict between Quebec and Ontario; as a result he emphasized the Seven Oaks "Massacre," the Sayer trial of 1849, and the "rebellion" of 1869. Martin attributed the blame for the Seven Oaks Massacre to the violent nature of the metis, who were the dupes of the North West Company, and to the rashness of Governor Semple. The Sayer trial of 1849 was, in turn, seen as a "political awakening to the deficiencies of patriarchal government and the conflicting interests of settlement and fur trade."[5]

When Martin did deal with the economic basis of the Settlement, he emphasized the philanthropic enterprises of Lord Selkirk, and later the sustaining role of the Hudson's Bay Company. No mention was made of metis agriculture, and the rising tide of metis trade in the 1840s was seen as a simple extension of the primitive Indian trade that had gone before. Thus the Sayer trial, which heralded free trade, was not seen to have economic importance, but rather it represented a political awakening. Similarly, the resistance of 1869-70 was not seen to have any economic significance.

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[2] Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (London: 1856). A more comprehensive review of Ross's work, and the historiography of the Red River Settlement generally, can be found in Frits Pannekoek, "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement 1830-1868," Prairie Forum 6, No. 1 (1981).

[3] Chester Martin, "The Red River Settlement," in Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 19, The Prairie Provinces I (Toronto: 1914).

[4] Chester Martin, "The First New Province of the Dominion," Canadian Historical Review (1920).

[5] Chester Martin, "The Red River Settlement," 57.

Martin did not argue that the Canadian involvement in Red River was totally beneficent;[6] neither did he portray the Riel Resistance of 1869 in a positive light. The "Rebellion," in his words, had departed from British tradition and "on more than one occasion passed beyond control and finally degenerated into wanton arrogance and bloodshed."[7] According to this view, the French metis, who had carried out the armed resistance, were not supported by the rest of the settlement, but were the local arm of the Catholic clergy who wanted to build a miniature Quebec on the Red River. Thus, the Provisional Government had no legitimacy; Riel was a dictator; the trial and execution of Scott were no more than a mock court-martial and a barbarous murder; and the troops sent to Red River under Colonel Wolseley simply brought about the restoration of order. The period after 1870 was seen as marking the movement to responsible government, and the beginning of agricultural settlement. Martin's interpretation places him squarely in the fold of Whig history. As one historian has recently commented;

> Behind this glorification of the spread of civilization was another deeply held assumption. English-Canadians, even as late as the inter-war period, generally looked to the British Empire as a positive force in history. Mistakes had been made but, their Whig view of history argued, generally the expansion of British systems or British institutions was also the expansion of an enlightened form of government and social conduct.[8]

The traditional or Whig interpretation, however, had never been accepted by

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[6] He argued that the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1869 transformed Canada from a confederation of equal provinces to a miniature empire with a subordinate colonial territory.

[7] Chester Martin, "The First New Province," 367.

[8] Douglas Owram, "The Myth of Louis Riel," Canadian Historical Review LXIII, 3 (1982).

French Canadians, who had held a divergent and dissenting view of Riel and the metis since 1885. This view emerged most prominently in the 1920s and 1930s, as part of the revival of nationalism among Canadiens who were re-examining their place in urban and industrial society and within Confederation. Representative of this trend was Auguste-Henri de Trémaudan's work on the metis. In the 1920s Trémaudan (a Franco-Manitoban teacher and journalist) began to publish Riel documents in an attempt to "correct" the traditional English-Canadian stereotype of Riel and the metis.[9] These articles and his book Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'ouest canadien, published posthumously, turned the traditional interpretation on its head.[10] On the basis of Riel's papers and the recollections of the active participants in the metis rebellions, Trémaudan presented an interpretation sensitive to a Canadien perspective. Although he maintained the emphasis on 1869 and 1885, and continued to see both disturbances in terms of a French-English conflict, Trémaudan departed from the traditional view on a number of key points. He completely reversed the villains and heroes in the story; the villains now were John Schultz, John A. Macdonald, William McTavish, Donald Smith and the Hudson's Bay Company. Riel was portrayed as the leader of an oppressed minority who prevented the annexation of the West by the United States, and safeguarded French-Catholic culture in the West. Not only was the resistance seen as necessary to ensure that the rights of the French-speaking residents of Red River were protected, but the violence of 1869-70 was attributed to the fanaticism of the English Canadians at Red River, not the metis. Riel and the metis, Trémaudan claimed, were widely supported in

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[9] A. H. de Trémaudan, "Louis Riel and the Fenian Raid of 1871," Canadian Historical Review IV, 2 (1923); "Louis Riel's Account of the Capture of Fort Garry, 1870," Canadian Historical Review V, 2 (1924); "Letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lepine to Lieutenant Governor Morris, January 3, 1873," Canadian Historical Review IV, (1926).

[10] A. H. de Trémaudan, Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'ouest canadien (Montreal: Levesque, 1936).

Red River, making the Provisional Government a legitimate government and, by extension, the death of Scott a legal execution. Although Trémaudan had reversed many of Martin's historical judgements, the debate in metis history was still framed by the religious and linguistic terms of Canadian politics. Trémaudan, like Martin, made almost no attempt to examine the economy of the metis, other than to characterize them as buffalo hunters. There was little recognition of a significant and separate English-metis presence at Red River, no analysis of their participation in the events of 1869-70, and no examination of their relations with their French-speaking counterparts.

The first work of revision emphasizing economic issues was George Stanley's The Birth of Western Canada, published in 1936. Like Trémaudan and Martin before him, he continued to concentrate on the "rebellions" of 1869 and 1885, but his emphasis was different. He placed metis history in the economic context of the inevitable clash arising out of the expansion of an industrial civilization into regions inhabited by peoples whose economy was based on hunting and rudimentary agriculture. This approach was in keeping with the growing awareness, among Canadian historians of the time, of the importance of social and economic forces in history. It was also a product of the interest of Commonwealth scholars in the contact between civilized and primitive peoples. As Stanley later commented on the writing of The Birth of Western Canada, "this idea of cultural conflict was uppermost in my mind. The traditional French-English, Catholic-Protestant approach to western Canadian history appeared to me to be purely co-incidental."[11]

Despite setting metis history within an economic context, Stanley made little effort to examine metis political economy in any detail. He briefly outlined their involvement in hunting and small-scale farming. He argued that the failure of the hunts and crops in the 1860s represented a crisis of the old economic order, and concluded that the metis were unwilling and unable to adapt to economic changes in the region.[12] Stanley characterized the metis themselves as "indolent" and "improvident," and the resistance of 1869 and the rebellion of 1885 as the risings of a small native community against economic and racial absorption. Nowhere did Stanley indicate what the metis response should have been to the economic crisis of the 1860s, and neither did he acknowledge the increasing metis involvement in the competitive capitalist markets developing in the region. The view that the metis were unable to adapt imbued Stanley's work with an ethnocentrism which saw the metis inevitably reduced to a state of subordination and dependence. It suggested the bias that white civilization was superior to primitive society. The seemingly inevitable nature of events implicitly justified Canadian expansion and colonization.

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[11] George F. G. Stanley, "The Last Word on Louis Riel - The Man of Several Faces," in 1885 and After: Native Society in Transition, eds., F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1986), 10; See also George F. G. Stanley, "G. F. G. Stanley and the Birth of Western Canada - A Historical Footnote," Riel Project Bulletin 5, (April 1981), 5.

The theme of cultural conflict was taken up by Marcel Giraud, whose book Le Métis Canadien, published in 1945, attempted to trace the evolution of the metis from their origins to the 1930s, and define the role they had played in western Canada. In this work Giraud depicted the origin of the metis in fur trade practices, and their subsequent history. Giraud's work, although much more detailed than Stanley's treatment of the metis economy added or changed little, maintaining the focus on the primitive nature of the metis economy. Both Stanley and Giraud seem to have been heavily influenced by an older nineteenth century anthropology which emphasized evolutionary theories, and the idea that civilization had evolved out of savagery. In this conception societies and cultures were portrayed as slow accumulations obeying laws natural and evolutionary. Elaborate classificatory schemes were worked out in which the passage from savagery through barbarism to civilization was sequential. It ranked societies in an hierarchical order using ethnocentric criteria which assumed the cultural supremacy of whites. By the early decades of the twentieth century this older evolutionary anthropology was being successfully challenged by the modern conception of cultural pluralism and relativism, but both Stanley and Giraud seem to have been little influenced by these newer ideas.[13]

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[12] George F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada; "The Metis and the Conflict of Culture in Western Canada," Canadian Historical Review 28 (1947). In writing the biography of Louis Riel in the 1960s, almost thirty years after he had done his first work on the metis, Stanley did acknowledge the quickening of economic life in the Red River Settlement in the 1850s and 1860s. However, he still did not acknowledge metis involvement in this commercial activity. They were still associated with the "old order" which was being displaced. George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1963), 36-38.

Thus, the work of Stanley and Giraud had, by the 1950s, established a new consensus regarding the political economy of the Red River metis. No longer would the resistance of 1869 be seen as simply an extension of the conflict between Ontario and Quebec, between Catholic and Protestant, but rather as a part of the larger conflict between industrial civilization and primitive frontier societies. Both Stanley and Giraud acknowledged some economic and social differences between the metis communities in the Settlement -- equating the "French" metis with the more primitive and nomadic elements in Red River, and the "English" metis with the more settled and agricultural segment of the population. Thus the French metis, in defence of their primitive way of life were in the forefront of the resistance in 1869 and were more apt to leave Red River after 1870. A legacy of this portrayal of the metis as a primitive society resisting industrial civilization was the idea that metis society was a static entity. Once fixed this model of society did not allow for change or adaptation.

W. L. Morton's work on the Red River Metis, although much influenced by

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[13] See Robert E. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes Toward Indian Mixed-Bloods in Early Nineteenth America," The Journal of Ethnic Studies 8, No. 2 (1980); Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 51-60; Brian Dippie, The Vanishing American.

Giraud,[14] began to re-orient metis studies towards a regional framework.[15] Adapting many of Giraud's ideas, Morton expanded and changed their focus while presenting the material with less ethnocentrism. In part, this sensitivity reflected the new awareness of the dangers of racial prejudice evident in the horrors arising out of the Second World War. Causal assumptions about race were increasingly unacceptable in scholarship. As well, Morton's view of metis history as a cardinal feature of the regional experience questioned the ethnocentrism of previous historians. By the late 1940s Morton began articulating a new sense of western distinctiveness in which western Canada was seen as a colonial society seeking equality in Confederation.[16] In this conception, the metis had a central role, their institutions and sense of identity constituting a distinct variant in Canadian society. The Riel Resistance of 1869 and Manitoba's entry into Confederation constituted the "initial bias of prairie politics," beginning the tradition of grievance and special claims.[17]

Morton examined many of the same sources as Giraud and Stanley, and accepted Giraud's idea that the metis represented a blend of primitivism and civilization, but he was more concerned with justice and fairness between regions and the federal state, and between minorities and the dominant society. His best work on the metis can be found in two lengthy introductions to collections of documents.[18] In his introduction to Eden Colvile's letters, Morton examined a significant component of metis society ignored by Giraud -- the English metis of Red River. Using census and manuscript materials, Morton presented a portrait of metis life at Red River around 1850 as "an island of civilization" -- a society based on the compromise between agriculture and the buffalo hunt. In this work, Morton also sketched the changing economy of Red River at mid-century, and suggested how this affected metis life. In his introduction to Alexander Begg's Journal, Morton took issue with Stanley's characterization of the first Riel "Rebellion" as a conflict of culture. Red River, Morton argued, was already civilized and the resistance reflected the desire of the metis to attain corporate rights in the face of the Canadian Government's willingness to grant them individual rights in due time. Morton would later state that Riel's achievement in the 'Manitoba Act' was the attainment of recognition for Manitoba as a dual society based on a balance between the French and English metis. The great tragedy of Manitoba and Canada was that the principle of duality established in 1870 was later undermined.[19]

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[14] See for instance his review of Giraud's Le Metis Canadien. "The Canadian Metis," The Beaver outfit 281 (September 1950), 3-7.

[15] The period after 1939 in Canadian historiography has been seen as a time of re-orientation generally. There were substantial changes in Canadian intellectual life, and a renewed concern with national culture. There was also a turning away from the environmental approach and a resurgence of biography. See Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English Canadian Historical Writing 1900 - 1970 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976).

[16] W. L. Morton, "Clio in Canada: The Interpretation of Canadian History," University of Toronto Quarterly XV (1946).

[17] W. L. Morton, "The Bias of Prairie Politics," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada XLIX, series III (1955).

There is in Morton's work, however, a curious ambivalence regarding metis society and economy. Although he characterized Red River as an "island of civilization," within this typology Morton had a sliding scale of civilization. At the top were the Scottish crofters who concentrated on agriculture to the exclusion of the hunt; at the bottom were those metis who hunted and tripped in the York boats to the exclusion of agriculture.[20] Further, Morton, having transformed a cultural and racial injustice into a regional one, ignored the metis in Manitoba after 1870 and paid no attention to their dispersal. In this he was implicitly accepting Stanley's and Giraud's argument about the primitive nature of the metis economy, whose eclipse was inevitable. Despite these ethnocentric holdovers, Morton's work did begin a re-orientation of metis studies. He began to raise the discussion of metis history out of the civilization-savagery dichotomy; he delineated some of the various metis communities in Red River;[21] and he pointed to the importance of an economic transition occurring in the region in the 1840s.[22]

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[18] W. L. Morton, "Introduction," London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colvile 1849-1852 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956); and "Introduction," Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956).

[19] W. L. Morton, "Confederation: 1870 - 1896," Journal of Canadian Studies 1 (March 1966).

The first significant break with the Stanley-Giraud paradigm of the metis economy as primitive and irrational came in the 1970s with the work of G. Herman Sprenger. Sprenger set out to test whether the metis preference for the hunt was "irrational;" whether their preoccupation with the hunt prevented them from becoming sensible and steady farmers; and whether their fondness for the hunt constituted the reason for the slow development of agriculture in the Red River Settlement. He found, instead, that insistence upon farming at Red River before the 1870s indicated more stubbornness than rational development. He also found that crops in the colony were partial or outright failures in thirty-one of fifty years between 1820 and 1870. In this situation the produce of the hunt was critical in provisioning the colony and thus essential to its survival. The commonly accepted viewpoint that the metis were lazy and improvident and preferred hunting because it was exciting, he argued, was not borne out by the evidence. Buffalo hunting was not detrimental to the development of agriculture in the Red River Settlement, but rather complementary. The primary causes for the slow development of agriculture, Sprenger concluded, were unfavourable environmental conditions and the rudimentary technology available.[23]

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[20] This sliding scale between civilization and barbarism based on a commitment to agriculture is most evident in Morton's article, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," Canadian Historical Review 30, No. 4 (December 1940). His typology borrows heavily from Alexander Ross's ideas of who were the most progressive elements in the Red River Settlement. See his The Red River Settlement published in 1856. Although W. L. Morton showed a great deal of empathy for metis society in Red River, he was also clearly rooted in the agricultural tradition of the Ontario settlers which transformed Manitoba's institutions after 1870. See W. L. Morton's autobiographical sketch, "Furrow's End," Journal of Canadian Studies 21, No. 3 (Fall 1986).

[21] In addition to Morton's study of the English Metis, he, along with Margaret MacLeod, also wrote a biography of Cuthbert Grant which outlined the early history of Grantown (St. Francois Xavier). Margaret MacLeod and W. L. Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

[22] This idea of an economic transition had been developed slightly earlier by Alvin C. Gluek in his doctoral dissertation, "The Struggle for the British Northwest: A Study in Canadian American Relations," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1953). This study, however, was only published in 1965 as Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest: A Study in Canadian-American Relations (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

Sprenger's work, although liberating, had a number of deficiencies. His analysis of the metis economy made no distinctions among the various metis communities; the metis were defined simply as buffalo hunters. There is, in fact, no analysis of the impact of changing market forces on the metis economy, no assessment of metis participation in agriculture, and no acknowledgement of the significant metis involvement as merchant traders. Sprenger's heavy reliance on secondary sources -- the works of the very historians he was revising -- was the source of his shortcomings.

Other historians have gone a step further in revising Stanley and Giraud. Irene Spry detailed the mobility, resourcefulness, and enterprise of a group of metis merchants, traders, and guides operating in the western interior by the 1840s, directly contradicting the picture of the metis as indolent and unable to adjust to new economic opportunities.[24] Spry's work on the metis, however, is not intensive and is based heavily on qualitative evidence. D. N. Sprague, on the other hand, has attempted to prove that the metis were a settled people with deep roots in Red River, not the primitive nomads Giraud had claimed.[25] Sprague's arguments, however, deal primarily with the period after Confederation and cannot be applied to the period prior to 1870 without extensive qualifications.[26] Sprague, like Sprenger, includes all metis in his generalization despite the fact different metis communities exhibited quite different persistence rates.

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[23] G. Herman Sprenger, "An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Métis Society, 1810-1870," (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972). See also his "The Métis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement (Circa 1810-1870)," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 3, No. 1 (1972).

[24] Irene Spry, "The 'Private Adventurers' of Rupert's Land," in The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honor of Lewis H. Thomas, edited by John E. Foster (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983). See also her "The métis and the mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870," in The New Peoples.

A number of other students of the Red River Settlement have filled in the picture a little more. The geographer Barry Kaye has shown that a trade in livestock between the Red River Settlement and American centres was increasing between 1849 and 1856, emphasizing the fact that external markets were developing for Red River produce.[27] Robert Coutts, in his study of agriculture in the St. Andrew's parish, has argued that the mixed economy of this parish, encompassing farming, hunting, and labour was the most rational and flexible adaptation for an environment characterized by scarce resources and a primitive technology.[28] This characterization of the St. Andrew's economy as the most rational is convincing in comparison to the Kildonan Scots who were slavishly committed to agricultural practices that more often than not resulted in poor crop yields or complete failures, but Coutts' contention that the St.

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[25] The clearest statement of this argument is found in P. R. Mailhot and D. N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Metis, 1870-1885."

[26] Sprague's arguments, even for the 1870s and 1880s, are not fully convincing. See chapter IX of this study.

[27] Barry Kaye, "The Trade in Livestock between the Red River Settlement and the American Frontier, 1812-1870," Prairie Forum 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981). See also his "'The Settlers' Grand Difficulty': Haying in the Economy of the Red River Settlement," Prairie Forum, 9, No. 1 (Spring 1984).

[28] Robert Coutts, "The Role of Agriculture in an English Speaking Halfbreed Economy: The Case of St. Andrew's, Red River," Native Studies Review 4, Nos. 1 & 2 (1988).

Andrew's metis represented the most "progressive" element in nineteenth century Red River is no where proven.[29] He makes no comparison to any other communities in Red River, other than the Kildonan Scots, and completely ignores the metis involvement in the fur trade after 1844. His contention that the period of the 1840s and later represented a time of diminishing opportunities in the Settlement is not supported by the historical evidence.[30]

Historians, anthropologists, and geographers have done much to revise the picture of the metis economy at Red River, but little has been done to place the changing metis economy of Red River into the wider economic context, and to measure the responses of the various metis communities. In particular, no one has addressed the question of how the different metis communities in Red River reacted to the introduction of a competitive and capitalist market economy, and what effect this had on metis unity, identity, and social structure.[31] The remainder of Part One will be devoted to answering these questions in terms of two very different metis communities: St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's.

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[29] Coutts appears to contradict himself at one point by characterizing the Kildonan Scots exclusive pursuit of agriculture as irrational, yet claiming the St. Andrew's metis increasing involvement in agriculture after the 1840s as the most progressive adaptation (p. 90-91).

[30] Ibid., 69.

[31] Nicole J. M. St-Onge has attempted to analyze the dispersal of the metis of one Red River community (Pointe à Grouette) in the context of the penetration of merchant capitalism into metis society. Her study, however, deals almost exclusively with the period after 1870. See Nicole J.M. St-Onge, "Métis and Merchant Capitalism in Red River: The Decline of Pointe à Grouette, 1860-1885," (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983); "The Dissolution of a Metis Community: Pointe à Grouette, 1860-1885," Studies in Political Economy 18 (Autumn 1985).

Chapter II

The metis and the formation of the Red River Colony

The evolution of metis society in Red River was determined to a large extent by the economic opportunities in the western interior after the 1820s, and by the institutional context of the Red River Settlement. The manner in which the various metis communities in the colony responded to these opportunities also depended on their cultural origins. Thus, to understand the developing political economy of the Red River metis, it is necessary first to outline the formation of the Settlement, its economic base, and the ethnic and cultural origins of the metis groups that made up the Colony.

The Red River Settlement, although initiated by Lord Selkirk in 1811 as a philanthropic scheme to provide a new life for thousands of dispossessed Scottish highlanders,[1] was largely the creation of the fur trade. Indeed, Selkirk, along with his brother-in-law Andrew Colvile, tried to make their Settlement a working part of the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Colony was to be a source of supply for provisions and labour, and a place of retirement for employees of the company.[2] As W. L. Morton has pointed out, the root of the settlement on Red River is to be found in the need to supply provisions to the canoe brigades of the fur trade.

> It is apparent from any map that the forks of the Red River was the central point of this supply to the fur trade route. It was not itself a contribution to the supply but the strategic key to the timely provision

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[1] John Morgan Grey, Lord Selkirk of Red River (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 1-64.

[2] Ibid., 62; W. L. Morton, "The 1870 Outfit at Red River," Beaver (Spring 1970): 6.

from the plains reaching the canoes in early summer.[3]

After years of instability and conflict with the North-West Company, the Settlement became firmly established in the 1820s with the union of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company. The Colony took its essential form as a refuge for the superfluous Hudson's Bay Company servants and their metis families released from the Company's service after the re-organization of the Company during the 1820s. After competition had ceased between the North-West and the Hudson's Bay Companies, the revitalized Hudson's Bay Company adopted the infant Selkirk Colony for its own uses.

> Faced with the task of paring down the costs of labour and provisions in the fur trade, the Company encouraged older and less able officers and servants to retire and migrate with their mixed-blood families to Red River where they could come under the influence of Churches, schools, local government and 'civilized' society.[4]

Company servants with their large metis families, on the other hand, gravitated to the Red River Settlement because of the lack of other opportunities in the Northwest and the impracticability of taking their large families back to Britain or Lower Canada. As early as 1816, over 90 servants of the Hudson's Bay Comapny had petitioned Lord Bathurst to found a Colony for them and their children as they had become fathers of large families and had,

> hitherto brought up our Children at the different trading posts of the Company in the Habits and Duties of Civilized Life, but they are now become so numerous that it is found impossible for them to be supported in this way much longer, and unless we are by your Lordship's humane assistance enabled to form an Asylum for them of the nature of a Colony, they will in all probability be driven to the wretched necessity of throwing themselves on the Bounty of the Natives and be obliged to Augment the number of Savages, without possessing those Arts and Habits which render

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[3] W. L. Morton, "The 1870 Outfit," 5-6.

[4] John E. Foster, "The Mixed Bloods and the Red River Settlement," in The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Sourcebook, ed. Lewis G. Thomas (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), 37.

a Savage Life supportable.[5]

Throughout the 1820s former servants and their metis families continued to stream into the Colony as climate and the lack of opportunities and resources forced them to attempt to establish a settled existence.[6] William Garrioch confessed to Governor Simpson in 1820 "that nothing but the necessity of the times could ever have induced me to become a settler at Red River. Unaccustomed to the labour, (I shall find it hard)."[7]

Both the Catholic, French-speaking metis families, and Protestant, English-speaking metis families, having found refuge in the Red River Settlement, settled into a way of life that combined peasant agriculture with the annual buffalo hunts. The French metis, originating from progenitors employed in the Montreal based St. Lawrence trading system, came under the influence of Roman Catholic priests from Lower Canada who encouraged them to settle in river lot parishes to the south and west of the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine River. The English metis, whose paternal ancestors were the British (largely Orkney) employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, came under the influence of Anglican missionaries and settled in river lot communities north of the forks on the Red River.[8] The transition to a more settled economy under the watchful eye of the parish clergy, a painful one for many,[9] had been largely accomplished by the mid-1830s.

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[5] Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), E.8/5, fo. 126, Petition of Servants of the Hudson's Bay Company to Lord Bathurst, York Factory, September 10, 1816.

[6] HBCA, D4/87, Simpson's Correspondence, August 10, 1824; D4/86, September 8, 1823; D4/127, January 7, 1835. Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, Vol. II, page 687. Church Missionary Society (CMS) Records, Incoming Correspondence (I.C.), Letter Book (L.B.) II, Reel 3, Letter of William Cockran to the Secretaries of the CMS, 215.

[7] Quoted in Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, 686.

[8] The influence of the Catholic priests and Protestant ministers on the metis, while significant, was certainly not all encompassing. For example the Catholic clergy was instrumental in convincing the Pembina metis to relocate to the Red River Settlement, and to accept church marriage and baptism, but they were unable prevent them from marrying outside the faith (see chapter on marriage patterns). The metis in St. Andrew's also ignored the exhortations of their Protestant ministers not to go on the buffalo hunt

Origins of the Red River metis

The ethnic roots of the different metis communities are, as yet, not clearly understood, nevertheless a number of patterns of ethnogenesis have been delineated. Throughout North America the process of métissage accompanied the fur trade. The presence of adult European males isolated from European women, as well as the concepts of good manners and hospitality of many Indian bands ensured it. Inter-marriage between Indians and Europeans, however, was not only a result of the scarcity of European women, but was an integral part of the fur trade. Based as it was on a commodity exchange between two divergent groups of people, the fur trade engendered an interdependent economic relationship. Many fur trade practices took place within the structure of Indian social and political customs. Kinship, or fictive kinship, was a major determinant in the trade and alliance structure of Amerindian societies. Fur traders wintering in the Indian country found that marriage to an Indian woman facilitated and cemented trading alliances with her band. The result of this exchange provided the Indian with access to European goods and with exposure to some European practices on an enduring basis. It was a pattern initiated by the French on the St. Lawrence and in the Maritimes, and repeated by the English when they established themselves on Hudson Bay in the 17th century.

This arrangement for accommodating fur traders was not necessarily regarded as permanent by either the fur trader or the Indian bands; therefore such ritualized kinship attachments could be repeated with other bands. The norm, however, was not casual, promiscuous contact, but the development of marital unions which gave rise to distinct family units -- marriage "à la façon du pays." This type of union, according to the custom of the country, combined both Indian and European marriage customs, and not only cemented trade ties, but also provided the trader with a source of labour needed in the fur trade. The Indian woman familiarized the fur trader with the customs and language of her tribe. and performed important domestic tasks such as providing the trader with moccasins, snow-shoes, canoes, dressed furs and food.[10] In return the Indian woman increased her prestige as she became a source of technology and goods for her band.

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[9] Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface (AASB), J.B. Thibault (Red River) to Mgr. l'Eveque de Quebec, 24 July 1836, P1855-1858. CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I, Reel 3, Journal of Wm. Cockran, August 2, 1832, 480-481.

Frequent intermarriage between fur trader and Indian, however, did not lead inevitably to separate, identifiable metis communities. Some "mixed-blood" progeny were raised among their mothers' people assuming an Indian lifestyle while others were taken to European or American metropolitan centres by their fathers to be educated and assimilated into European society. The emergence of identifiable metis communities had to await specific political and economic conditions. Recent studies have emphasized that, rather than being a "widespread and natural phenomenon," the metis as community were an infrequent, if not unique, socio-cultural product of particular events and circumstances.[11] The emergence of these distinct socio-cultural entities occurred both among the fur trade communities of the Great Lakes, and in the river valleys of the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers along the north-eastern fringe of the Great Plains. The dynamics of this community formation are best seen through an examination of the different patterns of fur trade contact, as children born in the fur trade country experienced family and community relationships that varied considerably according to the time, place and fur trade company setting in which they matured.[12]

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[10] Ibid., 53-75.

[11] John E. Foster, "The Plains Metis," 376. See also Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis," Ethnohistory 25 (Winter 1978).

The metis who settled at Red River had at least three identifiable European cultural antecedents. The early fur trade was dominated by the French who spread out from the St. Lawrence River. After the defeat of the French in 1763, this trade operation was taken over by highland Scottish traders who formed the North-West Company. The Hudson's Bay Company, on the other hand, began with English employees, but later relied on large numbers of lowland and Orkney Scots. The varied relations between these different fur traders, their native wives, and their mixed-blood children ensured that the various metis communities would have distinct ethnic and cultural origins.

New France, during its first decades, contained a high proportion of young men, many of whom were engaged in the fur trade and entered into alliances with Indian women. These traders sought both short term personal gratification and trade advantages; but they did not expect their familial obligations to be permanent. Nor did their alliances lead naturally to autonomous metis communities. The children born of these alliances were readily absorbed into the mothers' Huron matrilineage and raised in Huron villages.[13]

The conditions conducive to the formation of metis communities emerged after 1650 and the destruction of the Huron Confederacy, when French traders began to move inland, in time taking over the role of the Indian trader in trading furs from the hunting bands and transporting them to Montreal. Peace between the French and the Iroquois after 1695 further encouraged Algonquian Indians to form enduring villages near the shores of Lakes Michigan and Superior. This facilitated trade with the French and pulled the locus of the fur trade and its personnel away from Montreal toward the Great Lakes. These traders loosened their ties with New France and formed more lasting bonds with each other and their Indian associates. They did not give themselves up to Indian society, but carved out a broker relationship between the Indian bands to the northwest and European society to the east. Establishing positions of influence at Michilimackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien and elsewhere, they functioned primarily as traders, voyageurs and clerks who journeyed to, and lived among the Indian people. Through their monopolization of the middle occupational rungs of the fur trade system, these traders and their metis families were able to construct a separate identity.[14]

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[12] Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Children of Early Fur Trades," in Joy Parr ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 44.

[13] Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Children of Early Fur Trades," 44.

The crystallization of this metis identity in the various communities along the Great Lakes occurred after the British conquest of New France and the fall of Michilimackinac to the British in 1763.[15] This British takeover seems to have encouraged what had begun earlier -- a major movement of Canadians and metis out of the fort and its environs into smaller metis communities along the shores of the Great Lakes. In these communities the traders and their metis families were left to follow their own social and economic customs. As Jacqueline Peterson has shown:

> The living arrangements, material culture and occupation of the Metis set them apart from both their Indian kin and neighbors and from European society to the east. The establishment of permanent villages and towns geographically separate and visually distinct from adjacent band villages, was a critical hallmark of Metis development.[16]

During the 18th century, the metis of the Great Lakes assumed the favoured broker role between Indian hunters and Euro-Canadian merchants. Successive engagements with a fur trade entrepreneur (often an older kinsman) enabled the voyageur to establish an enduring marriage because he returned regularly to his wife and children and the metis village. His children could then retrace the cycle by entering the fur trade. These patriarchal compounds, composed of extended kin and native retainers, were finely crafted cells to produce a new generation of metis mediators.[17]

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[14] Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River," 54-55.

[15] Jacqueline Peterson, "Ethnogenesis: Settlement and Growth of a New People in the Great Lakes Region 1702-1815," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 6, No. 2 (1982): 23-64.

[16] Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River," 50-51.

The depletion of fur bearing animals in the Great Lakes area, Indian cessions and removals, and American land speculation and settlement in the early 19th century encouraged the metis to leave the region if they wished to continue in the trade. As early as 1800, the Grignons and their extended kin were wintering as far west as the head-waters of the Mississippi River and the Pembina River in search of more furs. Large numbers of the Great Lakes metis moved in with native kin, or pulled up stakes and migrated to trading stations and new town-sites.[18] Many, in fact, migrated northwest to Minnesota and Red River.[19]

The British conquest of New France did more than provide a catalyst for metis group identity in the Great Lakes. It also opened a new phase in the Canadian fur trade and in fur trade family history. Between 1760 and 1780, political and economic control of the Montreal trade passed to anglophone leaders among whom the Highland Scots predominated; the French Canadians were still employed, but usually as engagés. When the British Nor-Westers travelled into Indian country they, like the French, allied themselves with Indian women for the same personal and trade related reasons. As fur trade officers, they also carried their loyalties, connections and familial attitudes with them, infrequently developing permanent attachments in the Indian country. Among the

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[17] Ibid., 49-50.

[18] Ibid., 59.

[19] Many of the metis who moved from Pembina to St. Francois Xavier in the 1820s had their roots in the Great Lakes. Many of the Metis surnames found in the birth and marriage registers of Mackinac later reappear in the parish registers of St. Francois Xavier in the Red River Settlement. (e.g. Amiot, Blondeau, Chaboyer, Hamelin, St. Germain, Lapierre, Dubois, Laframboise, Poitras, Ducharme, Pelletier, Rocheblave, etc.).

Nor-Westers, codes of conduct with regard to natives varied depending on local circumstances and the individuals concerned. Most became involved in marriages according to the 'custom of the country', which sometimes entailed only a transitory union; some, however, established longer term relationships with Indian women and ensured that the household -- women and children -- accompanied them as they moved from post to post. In some cases these marriages lasted for a lifetime.[20]

Many children of these alliances were absorbed into Indian society, while others were sent to Montreal for baptism and an education. Nevertheless, by 1800 the growth of fur trade domesticity had produced a large population of Indian women and mixed-blood children who resided near North West Company posts. This situation caused great expense to the Company, which, in 1806, forbade its men to marry Indian women. In passing this regulation the North West Company had no unrealistic hopes for a new celibacy; rather they encouraged traders to marry mixed-blood daughters of fur trade personnel, thereby initiating a policy of generational continuity in the growing mixed-blood population around the posts.[21]

On retiring from active fur trading, the North West Company traders faced difficult decisions arising from their familial attachments in Indian country. Some took their families back to Canada or Europe, but many placed their wives and mixed-blood children in the hands of another Company person. Others decided to settle with their families in Indian country, as a number of French Canadians had done. This alternative, however, was not seriously considered by the large majority of Highland Scot clerks and bourgeois who had strong family and associational ties in Canada and Britain.[22] Although this system gave the mixed-blood woman a secure position in the North West Company fur trade system, her mixed-blood brother faced difficulties in establishing a place for himself in the Company, since most labour needs were filled in Montreal. To survive he needed the skills of the Indian hunter, which he had probably acquired by living with the males of his mother's band. His place there, in all likelihood, would be unsure since with the evolution of family hunting territories,[23] succession was probably delineated through the male line. In this case the mixed-blood male whose claim devolved from his mother would have to move on. If he wished to live a life other than as a hanger on at a fur trade post, he, and others like him, would have had to move westward to the plains to become a supplier of provisions for the fur brigades.[24] Another path leading to this same juncture was that of those Euro-Canadians, who, on leaving the fur-trading companies, chose to "go free" with their families in the interior where they, too, became suppliers of provisions to the fur-trading companies. Those "freemen," who established enduring households, were succeeded by a later generation of buffalo hunters who became metis.[25] Some freemen further west and north also became "bush" metis rather than buffalo hunters.

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[20] Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Children of Early Fur Trades," 49-52.

[21] Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 97.

[22] Ibid., 107.

By the early 1800s the mixed-blood offspring of the North West Company were recognized as a distinct metis group. This status corresponded with the early efforts by members of this group to assert themselves socially and politically in the Red River area. Here they began to settle as semi-independent buffalo hunters and suppliers of the fur trade as well as intermittent employees of the North West Company.[26] Representative of this group of metis, which would later settle in the parish of St. Francois Xavier, were the families of Cuthbert Grant, Angus McGillis, and Pierre Pangman.

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[23] There has been, and continues to be a good deal of debate over the evolution of family hunting territories. This study makes no pretension to participating in the debate. The possibility of family hunting territories is here mentioned only to outline one of the possibilities of metis community formation.

[24] John E. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," in L. H. Thomas ed., Essays in Western History (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976), 79-80. This path could also lead to an identity other than metis, as metis sons could be adopted by the families of the Indian wives.

[25] John E. Foster, "The Plains Metis," 384.

The mixed-blood descendants of the Hudson's Bay Company eventually also settled in the Red River Settlement and developed a metis identity, but their evolution assumed a different pattern than the offspring of the North West Company traders. In fact, some eventually identified themselves as "country-born" or "halfbreed" to distinguish themselves from the metis who had their origin in the North West Company trading system. At an early date, posts on the Hudson Bay were fortified residential enclaves organized in accordance with military and semi-monastic ideals. The official policy of the Company dictated non-fraternization between Indian women and British-born officers and servants. The realities of life on the Bay, however, led to a more practical unofficial policy. The results of this unofficial policy were ties of kinship between members of the Homeguard Cree bands around the Hudson's Bay Company posts, and British-born employees. This arrangement recognized that adult males of an Indian band would permit British-born males to consort with Indian women only in the context of a marital relationship.[27] This type of relationship was advantageous to the Indian woman who thus secured access to the warehouse of the trading post. In return, the Indian wife was a conduit for small furs and goods such as toboggans, snowshoes and canoes. In spite of the numerous acculturative forces that influenced the Homeguard Cree, their ways were firmly tied to Indian traditions. For the most part the children of these marriages were enculturated in the ways of the band.[28]

The emergence of a distinct metis community required a sequence of events which would direct the Homeguard Cree along divergent paths. Such a sequence of events began with the removal of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade operations to inland posts after 1790. This move inland resulted from intense competition with Montreal traders, and precipitated a labour crisis in the Hudson's Bay Company. In desperation the Company turned to the Homeguard Cree, particularly to those mixed bloods whose kinship ties drew them close to the trading post and made them more amenable to the labour system of the Company. These mixed-blood children had acquired a knowledge of the paternalistic hierarchical social structure of the Hudson's Bay Company through their association with the fur trade posts. This was superimposed on the network of kinship, linking various mixed-blood families with British-born officers and servants, and with members of surrounding Indian bands. The complex interplay of the various social systems created a unique social world in the posts of the Hudson Bay trading system.

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[26] Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 172.

[27] John E. Foster, "Origins of the Mixed Bloods," 74.

[28] Ibid., 74-75.

By the early 19th century it was evident that there were distinct differences in values and attitudes between British-born traders and the mixed-blood traders. For the British-born monetary gain was of primary importance, whereas for the mixed-blood the social aspects of work were more important. These mixed-bloods had developed an ethos peculiar to the fur trade society of the Hudson Bay post in which the epitome of the good life was the lifestyle of the Indian trader.[29]

The amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821 marked another step in the historical and cultural process that moved some Homeguard-Cree to adopt a metis identity. This union initiated the migration of hundreds of mixed-bloods from the posts of the Hudson Bay trading system to the Red River Settlement. The new company administration encouraged the supernumerary officers and servants to retire to the agricultural settlement at Red River. Many of these former servants settled on lots on the Red River below the forks at the place which later became the parish of St. Andrew's. Here, under the influence of evangelical Anglican missionaries, these metis attempted to build a new livelihood and society.

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[29] Ibid., 76-77.

The Establishment of St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier

The French-metis parish of St. Francois Xavier was initially established as a mission in 1824 when the metis of Pembina were relocated on the insistence of the Hudson's Bay Company. Also known as the White Horse Plain,[30] the site of this settlement lay on the Assiniboine River eighteen miles west of the forks of the Red and Assiniboine. According to W.L. Morton:

> Its western boundary was at an old Indian encampment in the lee of a slight, almost imperceptible ridge which made a dry camping-place in the surrounding plain. It was known as the coteau des festins, because the local Indians from time immemorial had held dog feasts on the site. From the loop of the river-ridge, a wide view opened southward over the plains towards the lands of the Sioux. On the points and bays of the winding course of the Assiniboine were the hardwood groves which would furnish wood for fuel and building, lumber for carts, and maples for sugar.[31]

This site had always been a popular camping ground and in 1814 a small group of Canadian freemen and metis, headed by A. Poitras, established themselves on the spot, having been granted a concession by Selkirk. The North West Company subsequently convinced them to abandon the site as the Company opposed settlement.[32] A few years later, in 1818, a group of Orkneymen with native families, former Hudson's Bay Company employees, settled temporarily in a rudimentary village on the White Horse

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[30] The name White Horse Plain derives from the Indian legend of the White Horse involving the Cree, Assiniboine and Sioux. See Margaret Macleod and W. L. Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1974), 90-92.

[31] Ibid., 90.

[32] Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien II, 541.

Plain, renaming it Birsay.[33] Between 1818 and 1824 the migration of metis from Pembina on the Red River gave the settlement its distinguishing characteristics and permanence.

Pembina, at the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, always had been more populous than the Red River Settlement as it was the principal rendezvous point for freemen and metis hunters.[34] This large metis population became a concern to the Hudson's Bay Company after a survey, in accord with the boundary line laid down by the Convention of 1818, determined that Pembina lay in the territory of the United States. The Hudson's Bay Company, fearing that the metis of Pembina would take advantage of their new citizenship to flout the Company's trade regulations, decided to remove their trading post from Pembina. The Company also put pressure on the Catholic clergy of St. Boniface to move their metis parishioners to the Red River Settlement.[35] Bishop Provencher, responding to the pressure of the Company and Selkirk's administrators, ordered the Pembina mission to close and encouraged the metis there to relocate to the Red River Settlement.[36] With no trading post or mission left on the site, most metis followed their priest to the Red River Settlement.[37]

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[33] Ibid., 701.

[34] AASB, Letter of Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis (Quebec) January 5, 1819. Father Dumoulin estimated that there were 40 families and 300 persons settled at Pembina in 1819.

[35] PAM, Selkirk Papers, Simpson to Colvile, May 20, 1822. Halket to Bishop Provencher, July 20, 1822 in Grace L. Nute, ed., Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1824 (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942), 354. The Company was also worried that the Americans who had repeatedly threatened to seize their post might do so now that it was determined to be in American territory. Report of George Simpson, September 1, 1822 in Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), 382.

[36] Bishop Provencher to Bishop Plessis, Aug. 11, 1822, and Sept. 1, 1822 in Grace L. Nute ed., Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 362 and 373.

Provencher initially suggested Lake Manitoba as a likely site to resettle these metis as it afforded both hunting and fishing possibilities,[38] but Halket was opposed to this suggestion as the Colony on the Red River remained under-populated. Instead, he proposed a location on the Red River five leagues below the forks where the Company was planning to settle their former servants.[39] The majority of the metis of Pembina, however, preferred to settle on the Assiniboine River at White Horse Plain.[40] Their choice was probably influenced by the decision of Governor Simpson to grant Cuthbert Grant a tract of land there. Simpson hoped that Grant would be able settle the metis and freemen of Pembina, keeping them out of the fur trade. The tract of land conveyed to Cuthbert Grant lay on the banks of the Assiniboine 12 miles west of Fort Garry. It extended 6 miles westward along either side of the river. Here Grant settled the metis migrants from Pembina and the Northwest, allocating each settler one of the river lots (12 chains wide) running two miles back from the river.

The new settlement had at its centre Cuthbert Grant's house built on his double

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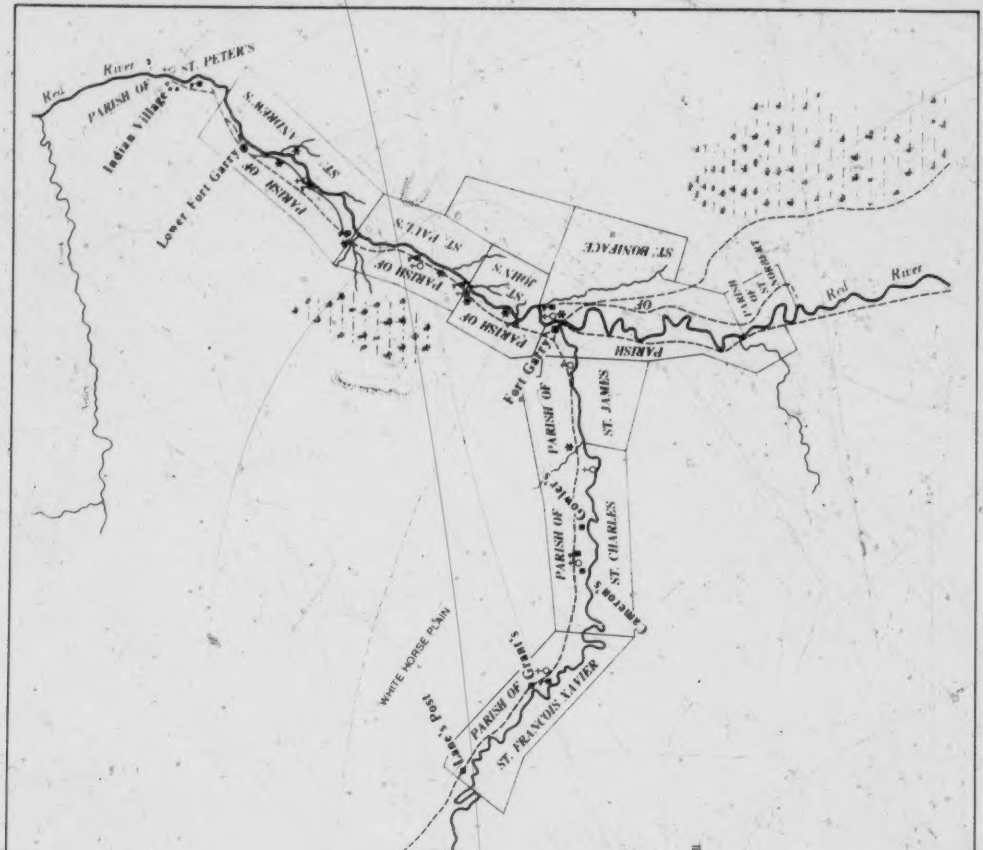
[37] "Pembina Settlement: Report of Major Wood relative to his expedition to Pembina Settlement and the Condition of Affairs on the North-West Frontier of the Territory of Minnesota, March 19, 1850," House of Representatives, Executive Document No. 51, 31st Congress, 1st Session.

[38] Bishop Provencher to Bishop Plessis, August 11, 1822.

[39] Bishop Provencher to Bishop Plessis, November 29, 1822, Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 380.

[40] A handful did decide to settle on the southeastern shore of Lake Manitoba. A. Morice, History of the Catholic in Canada, Vol. II (Toronto: The Mission Book Company, 1910), 118. A few more families relocated here permanently when flooding of the Red River in 1826 forced a large number of metis to winter at this fishing site. The place where they settled was near a traditional stopping place along water and land routes linking Red River to hunting areas at the northern end of the lake. This location later became the base both for the Catholic missions on the lake in the 1850s, and for the free traders in the region. A permanent mission was established here in 1858 and was known as St. Laurent. At that time there were from 30 to 40 families resident here. Nor'Wester, April 28, 1860.


Red River
PARISH OF ST. PETER'S
Indian Village
PARISH OF ST. ANDREW'S
Lower Fort Garry
PARISH OF ST. PAUL'S
PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S
PARISH OF ST. BONIFACE
Red River
Fort Garry
PARISH OF ST. JAMES
Cowley's
PARISH OF ST. CHARLES
Cameron's
PARISH OF ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER
Grant's
Lane's Post
WHITE HORSE PLAIN
Assiniboine River
Long Lake
Prairie Portage
Manitoba Lake
N
Road
Church
School
Wind or Watermill
MILES
0
5

Map 2 Plan Showing the Red River Settlement in 1857 river lot (# 118) on the 'coteau des festins' at the northeast corner of the loop of the river. On either side he placed his friends and relatives. Next to him to the east lay Angus McGillis' lot, then those of McGillis' sons, and beyond that the lots of Francois Paul, Pierre Falcon, and Alexander Breland. To the west lay the lots reserved for the Catholic mission, and beyond that the lot of Urbain Delorme.[41] .

These metis families not only settled and built houses, but began breaking land and farming. This move away from the life of the voyageur and hunter was to a large extent a function of the limited

economic opportunities in the 1820s and 1830s. Not only was the Hudson's Bay Company releasing superfluous men from their service, but there was a limited market for furs and produce. The metis had by no means given up the hunt for buffalo, the mainstay of their economy, but increasingly they combined the annual or semi-annual hunting expeditions with small scale farming. By 1827, the settlement consisted of 19 permanent families with a total of 111 inhabitants. Cuthbert Grant, by this time, was cultivating 34 acres, Angus McGillis 20, and Alexander Poitras 4.[42] By 1832 the settlement had grown to 57 families (294 individuals), and by 1835, 102 families (504 individuals) were cultivating 594 acres.[43]

Initially administered as a mission from St. Boniface,[44] the settlement of White Horse Plain did not have a church; the services were conducted in Cuthbert Grant's

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[41] After Cuthbert Grant, Delorme was one of the more important plains hunters and traders. Margaret Macleod and W. L. Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown, 93.

[42] HBCA, E5/1, Statistical Statement of the Red River Settlement, May 31, 1827. These population figures are notably lower than George Simpson's estimates of 80 to 100 families at White Horse Plain in 1824. See PAM, Selkirk Papers (8,221), Simpson to A. Colvile, May 31, 1824. The higher figures probably reflect a large nomadic element in the settlement in the early years.

[43] PAM Census of Red River 1832, 1835.

[44] The first priest was a Mr. Destroismaison.

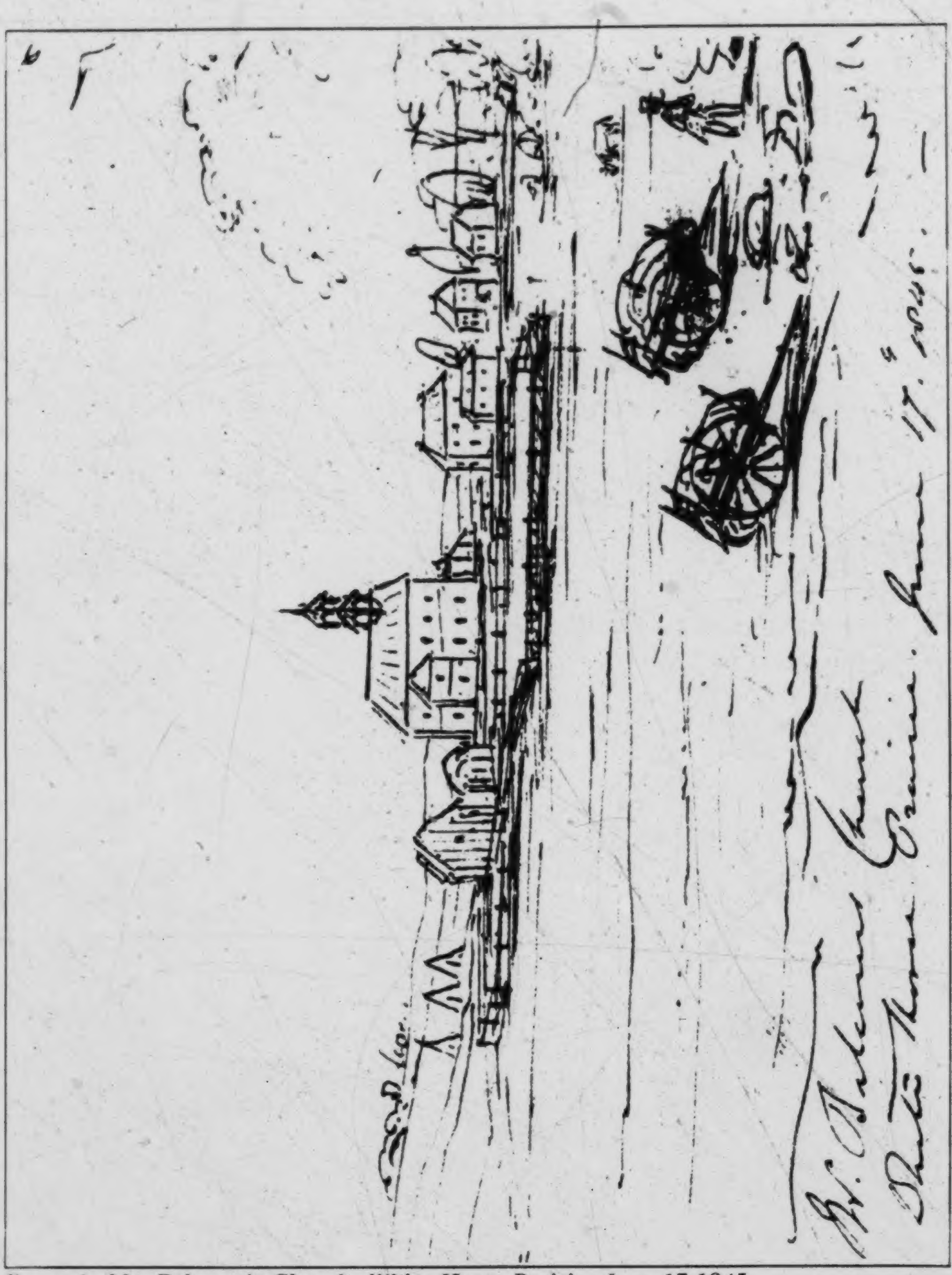

figure 1 Mr. Belcourt's Church, White Horse Prairie, June 17,1845
H. J. Warre Collection, NAC/APC

home. Beginning in 1827, Father J. Baptiste Harper began spending winters in the settlement catechizing the women and children; but in the summer he ministered to the congregation only on Sundays, since, for a good part of the summer, most of the settlement was away on the Buffalo hunt. By 1829 a chapel had been built and by 1834 the mission officially became the parish of St. François Xavier.[45] From this date the resident priest maintained separate parish registers for the settlement. Father Charles Poire, who took over the parish in 1834, regularly accompanied the metis on their bi-annual buffalo hunts.[46]

The inauguration in 1823 of a large scale migration of former Hudson's Bay Company servants to the Red River Settlement led to the establishment of a number of new communities below the forks. Initially, these English-metis families settled near Fort Garry, the Company's establishment at the forks, but, as more settlers continued to arrive, the settlement moved northward down the Red River. North of Point Douglas this settlement was interrupted by the river lots of the Highland Scots or Kildonan settlers, but continued again a few miles farther north near Frog Plain.

In 1821 the Rev. John West established the first Anglican mission near Point Douglas, two miles below the forks. This mission was called the "Upper Church" and later became known as the Parish of St. John's. A few miles to the north the Rev. David Jones began a second Anglican mission, "Middle Church." This mission later became the Parish of St. Paul's. As settlement spread farther down the river to a place known as Grand Rapids, the Anglican Church Missionary Society established another mission. By 1828, Rev. William Cockran had begun making pastoral visits to the growing community of retired Company servants and their metis families that had grown up around the Rapids. Cockran moved there permanently, in 1829, after a dispute with Jones over the importance of the Mission farm, and established what became known as the "Lower" or "Rapids Church." This church later became the centre of the parish of St. Andrew's.[47]

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[45] The mission in Pembina had also been called St. Francois Xavier.

[46] PAM, Parish Registers of St. Francois Xavier; AASB Letter of Bishop Provencher to Bishop Signay, Quebec July 16, 1834; Phillipe Mailhot, Unpublished report on the St. Francois Xavier Mission, 1818-1869, Historic Resources Branch, Manitoba Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation (1985).

Cockran quickly built a parsonage and by 1832 a church measuring 50' by 22' had been completed.[48] Cockran also acquired a considerable piece of land near his own house to establish a mission farm, partly to support his own family and a future school, but also to accustom his parishioners to agricultural labour and practices. This training in agriculture was imperative since many of the English metis, having grown up around northern trading posts, had little experience in either farming or the buffalo hunt.[49] According to Cockran, those retired servants and families living at the Rapids were less "civilized" or European than those living near Middle Church, and were, as a rule, poorer.[50] The women were nearly all Indian or metis and little acquainted with a settled economy.[51] Near the end of 1835, Cockran reported that there were now 102 families in the parish, of which only 43 were headed by European heads of family. At this time

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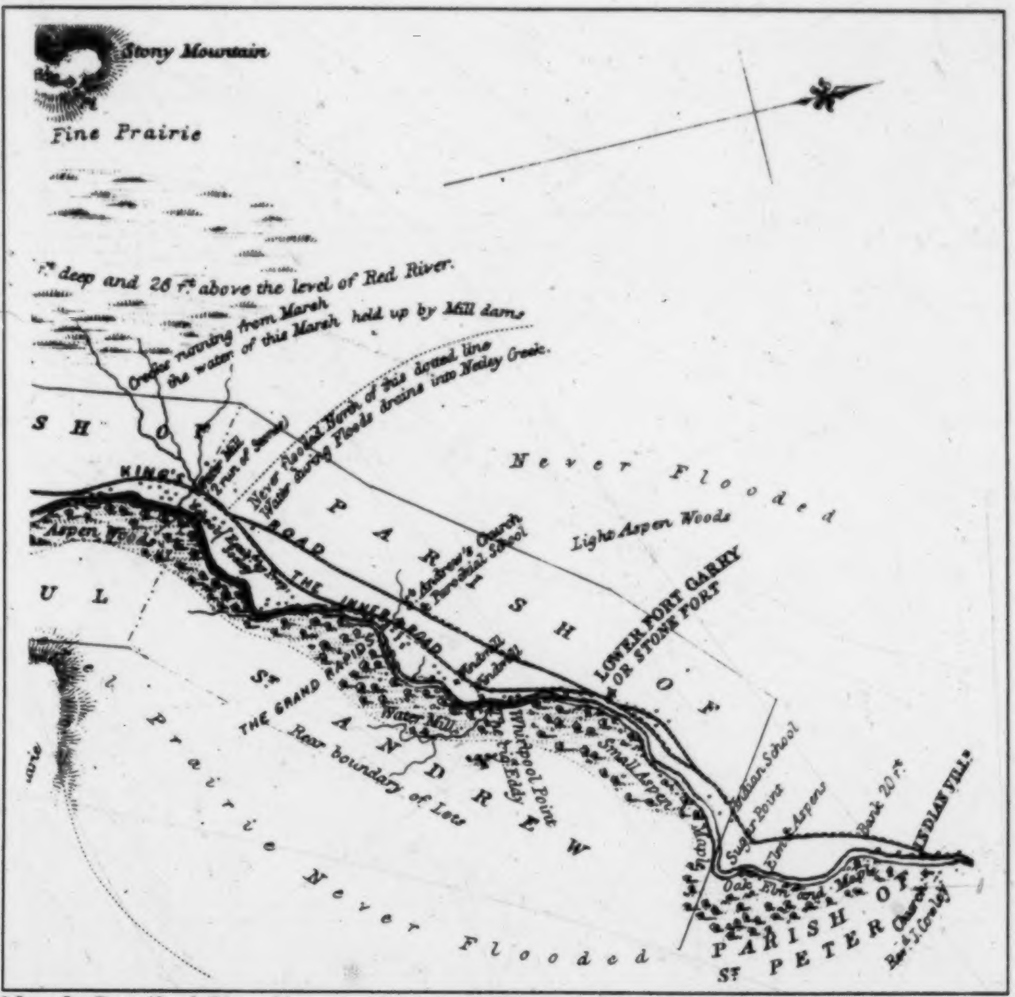
[47] John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973), 159. Robert Coutts, St. Andrews Parish 1829-1929 and the Church Missionary Society in Red River (Parks Canada Mss. (draft) 1986), 30.

[48] CMS Records, Incoming Correspondence (I.C.), Letter Book (L.B.) I, Reel 3, Letter of Cockran to Sec. August 5, 1829, p. 391, and July 29, 1830, p. 402; L.B. II, Reel 3. Report of the State of Religion, Morality and Education at R.R.S. and Grand Rapids by Rev. Jones and Cockran, August 10, 1835, pp. 62-69.

[49] Sarah Tucker, The Rainbow of the North (London: J. Nisbet and Co., 1851), 52-53. John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," 127.

[50] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I, Reel 3, Letter of Cockran to Sec., July 29, 1830, 400-401.

[51] Ibid., Cockran to Sec., Aug. 6, 1830, 416.


Stony Mountain
Fine Prairie
ft. deep and 26 ft. above the level of Red River.
Creeks running from Marsh
the water of this Marsh held up by Mill dams
Never flooded North of this dotted line
Water during Floods drains into Nelley Creek.
S H O P
U L
KING'S ROAD
THE INNER ROAD
Aspen Woods
PARISH OF
Never Flooded
Light Aspen Woods
St. Andrew's Church
Parochial School
LOWER FORT GARRY OR STONE FORT
THE GRAND RAPIDS
ST. ANDREW
Water Mill
Rear boundary of Lots
Whirlpool Point
Eddy
Small Aspen
Indian School
Sugar Point
Elm & Aspens
Bank 20 ft.
INDIAN VILL.
Oak, Elm, and Maple
Church
Revd. J. Cowley
PARISH OF ST. PETER
Prairie Never Flooded

Map 3 Detail of Plan Showing Parish of St. Andrew's, 1857 (PAM, N6515) there was only one European woman in the parish.[52] In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the inhabitants of St. Andrew's, much like those of St. Francois Xavier, developed a mixed economy which relied on subsistence farming combined with buffalo hunting and seasonal labour.

By 1833 Cockran's mission farm had 20 acres under cultivation, and he had erected a stockade for livestock and a small grist mill to grind corn.[53] These efforts at agricultural promotion had some effect as most families in the parish had some land under cultivation by 1835. Throughout the 1830s, however, Cockran continued to complain that every summer most of his male congregation was absent on the hunt or working in the boats.[54]

By the 1830s the two parish communities of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's had become the focal points in the social life of the metis. Since these were settlements which had grown up around missions, the parishes were natural as well as ecclesiastical units, each with their own school and communal life. Friends and relatives settled in close proximity on the narrow river lots in comfortable log dwellings with gardens and farm yards nearby.[55] The houses were adequately built and resembled small cottages with bark or thatched roofs. Built in the "Red River Frame" style[56], the log walls of these

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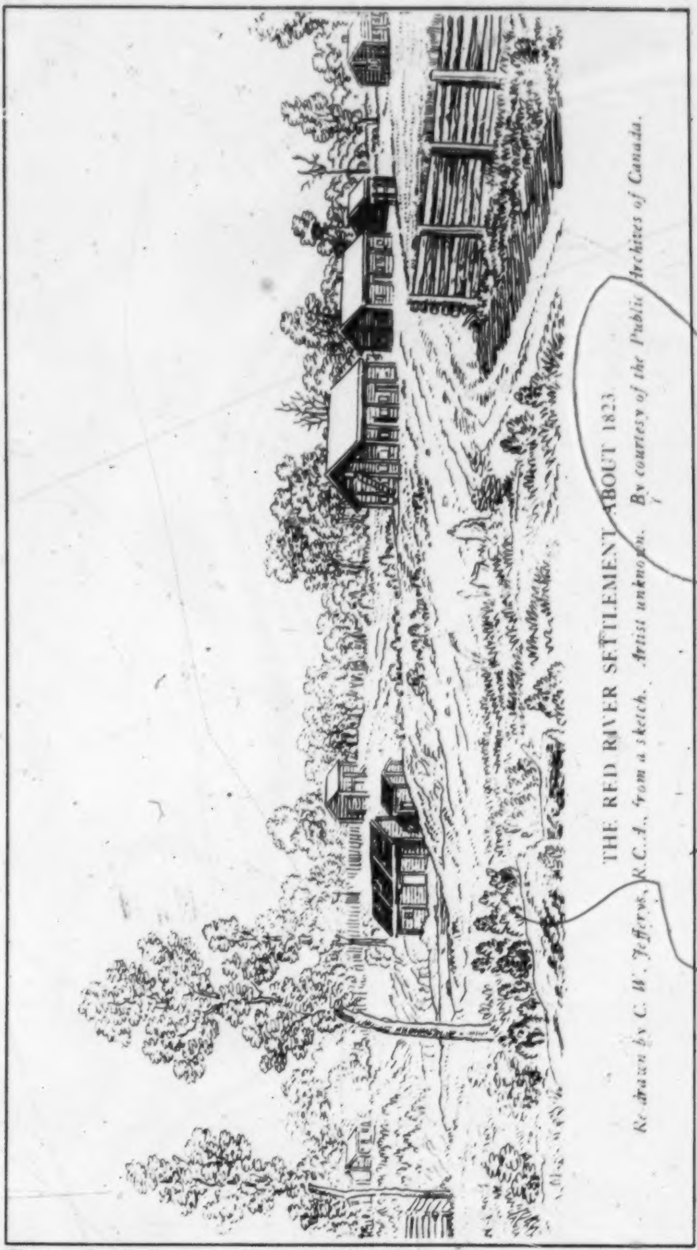
[52] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. II, Reel 3, Report of the State of Religion . . ., August 10, 1835, 62-69.

[53] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I, Reel 3, Cockran to Sec., July 30, 1833, 542.

[54] Ibid., Cockran to Sec., July 29, 1830, pp. 399-400; I.C., L.B. II, Reel 3, Cockran Journal, June 14, 1835, 112.

[55] Sarah Tucker, Rainbow of the North, 63.

[56] Red River Frame or post-on-sill construction was widely utilized in the fur trade, and consisted primarily of equally-spaced log uprights tenoned into a sill, with horizontal logs slid between the uprights. It was widely accepted as a building technique because it



THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT ABOUT 1823

Re-drawn by C. W. Jefferys, R.C.A., from a sketch. Artist unknown. By courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada.

figure 2 Red River Farm circa 1823

cottages were coated with mud and whitewashed. By the 1840s the wealthier settlers panelled their walls with rough cast lumber and had a window facing the road. These houses initially consisted of no more than a single room without a ceiling because of the scarcity of planks and the need for extra stoves if the interior was partitioned,[57] but by the 1860s most metis had neat multi-room dwellings.[58]

To a large extent then, the Red River Colony took its shape and character from the various metis communities that comprised the settlement. Seen as a refuge at a time when there were few opportunities in the fur trade or a market for agricultural produce, Red River served as a catch-basin for the metis families of the Northwest, whether of Hudson's Bay Company or North-West Company origin. Despite the different cultural origins of the metis who sought refuge in Red River in the 1820s and 1830s, there were elements which tied the metis communities together. These were in large part economic forces. Most groups had turned to Red River because of the lack of alternative opportunities elsewhere. While some were undoubtedly attracted to Red River for the opportunities the Settlement offered to educate their children and the presence of churches, the main factor was the lack of economic opportunities elsewhere in the Northwest. Here on river-lot farms they would eventually pursue an economy which relied equally on subsistence farming and bi-annual buffalo hunts. Here in contradistinction to the life of the trading post or the more nomadic lifestyle of a plains hunter, they settled in village communities under the watchful eye of the parish priest or minister. Until the emergence of new economic opportunities in the 1840s, all metis communities in Red River possessed a very similar political economy.

1967).

[57] AASB, Louis Lafleche to Quebec, 1 Juin 1845, P0936-0939.

[58] "To Red River and Beyond," Harpers, (February, 1861), 307.

Chapter III

The Red River Peasantry: metis economy and society in the 1830s

By 1835 the various metis communities of Red River had established a functioning way of life or political economy which might be characterized as "peasant." The absence of economic opportunities and competitive markets, combined with a dependence on the Hudson's Bay Company produced an economic uniformity among the different metis groups in the Colony. Despite different cultural origins, their common land tenure, economy, and social structure united the metis in the 1830s.

The primary constituents of this way of life were semi-autonomous village communities and cultures. Land tenure was based on grants and sales from Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company, squatters' rights, and a tradition of communal jurisdiction. The economic basis of these metis communities was a household economy comprised of small scale agriculture, the buffalo hunt, and seasonal labour for the Hudson's Bay Company. It was, in effect, a 'specialized' peasant society and economy whose primary aims were to secure the needs of the family rather than to make a profit. This society would have conformed to A. V. Chayanov's concept of a peasant society, which posits a balance between subsistence needs and a substantive distaste for manual labour that determines the intensity of cultivation and size of net product.

> In a natural economy, human economic activity is dominated by the requirement of satisfying the needs of each single production unit, which is at the same time a consumer unit. Therefore, budgeting here is to a high degree qualitative. . . . Therefore, the question of comparative profitability of various expenditures cannot arise. . . . The degree of self-exploitation is determined by a peculiar equilibrium between family

> demand and the drudgery of labour itself. . . . As soon as the equilibrium point is reached, however, continuing to work becomes pointless.[1]

Although the Red River Settlement was connected to commercial capitalism through the Hudson's Bay Company, there existed, at the household level, a parallel and contradictory economic system. This peasant economy, however, should not be considered as "subsistence" in the strict sense of the word. As in most peasant economies there was a dual orientation to market and household.[2] Produce from the buffalo hunt and farm were exchanged in Red River for other goods, and the metis were engaged in other activities such as occasional wage labour,[3] but the family remained the main unit of production in an essentially non-capitalistic mode of production.[4] The Hudson's Bay Company purchased pemmican, dried meat, and agricultural produce at an early date from the settlers of Red River, but the annual demand was fairly constant by the 1820s, while the population of the Colony increased rapidly.[5] By the 1830s the increase in the metis population, and the attendant increase in the production of pemmican and dried meat, had so saturated the limited market that the Hudson's Bay Company refused to buy much of the pemmican offered to them.[6] The Company was also not able to absorb very much of the agricultural produce of the settlement. The demand of the trading posts was small and could easily be satisfied. Grain purchases seldom amounted to more than 600-800 cwt. These purchases initially amounted to 16 bushels of grain per settler, but as the population grew this fell to 12 bushels, then 8 bushels and was even below this by 1845.[7] The Hudson's Bay Company, in later years, further depressed demand by maintaining large farms of their own at both Lower Fort Garry and St. Francois Xavier to supply their provisioning needs.

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[1] A. V. Chayanov, The Theory of Peasant Economy, edited by Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerblay, R. E. F. Smith (Madison: The Univeristy of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 4-6.

[2] Daniel Thorner, "Peasant Economy as a Category in Economic History," in Teodor Shanin, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), 206-207.

[3] The Metis participated to a limited degree in the wage labour system of the H.B.C., hiring on for a specific period (boat trip, cart brigade trip) for which they were paid a credit in the Company's account books that would be spent for provisions or goods in the following months. As Gerald Friesen has noted, "this labour system might be described as typical in a non-industrial society, and in its informal work discipline and rough measures of time, not far removed from that of the casual laborer or cottage artisan in 17th century England." Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: a History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 92.

[4] The peasant aims at subsistence not re-investment. He may sell a cash crop to get money, but this money is used in turn to buy goods and services required to subsist and maintain his social status rather than to enlarge his scale of operations. See Richard Hodges, Primitive and Peasant Markets (London: Basil Blackwell, 1985) for a discussion of peasant markets.

[5] John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," 219. This rapid population increase was due largely to large scale im-migration.

Thus, although the trade with the Hudson's Bay Company provided a means to purchase manufactured clothing and commodities, production from the hunt and farm remained largely oriented to household consumption in the 1830s.[8] Given the level of technology at the time and the absence of any real market, this was a rational course of action. The Nor'Wester, looking back on the agricultural history of the Colony commented in 1859:

> In one respect, however, the farmers appear to have been generally agreed. We refer to their determination to raise little more than enough of produce for home consumption; and so strictly did they carry out their resolves -- so nicely did they gauge the needed home supplies -- that last year the temporary presence in the settlement of a couple of exploring parties and

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[6] Alexander Begg, History of the North West, Vol.1 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1894), 232.

[7] Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, 787.

[8] In 1823, when William Keating travelled through the Settlement, he noted that there were no cash transactions in the Colony. Wheat along with other commodities was "traded in the way of exchange for some other commodity." William H. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeck, Lake of the Woods,@ performed in the year 1823, Vol. II (London: Geo. B. Whittaker,1825), 42.

a few batches of fortune hunters . . . almost created a famine.[9]

It was, in fact, an economy that would not have been far different from the one described by Allan Greer in his study of the habitants of the pre-industrial Lower Richelieu in the 18th and early 19th century.[10] It is indeed true that the metis were participating in an illicit fur trade, but this trade was largely circumscribed until the 1840s by the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company, the inaccessibility of viable alternative markets, and the lack of capital and marketing skills on the part of the metis.

Land Tenure in Red River

The basis of land tenure in the Red River Settlement was as complex as it was inconsistent. Although the Selkirk settlers had settled in Red River in 1812, a treaty with the resident Cree and Saulteaux Indians was made only in 1817. It was the dispute with the North West Company over the legitimacy of the Colony that moved Selkirk to treat with the Indians. A treaty at this time was thought to be necessary to remove the threat of Indian violence.[11] When Selkirk arrived at Red River, the Saulteaux Indians resident there informed him that they did not own the land, as it belonged to the Cree.[12] They agreed to sell only when Selkirk informed them that since they were living on the soil, he considered them masters of it.[13] By this treaty Peguis ceded to Selkirk a two mile wide strip[14] on either side of the Red River from Lake Winnipeg to the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine. Les Grande Oreilles ceded a similar strip from the Forks to Pembina. La Robe Noire sold two miles on either side of the Assiniboine River from the Forks to a point beyond Portage la Prairie. Finally, the Red Lake Chief sold a strip on either side of the Red River from Pembina south to the Red Lake River. In return the various chiefs were to receive a Quit-rent consisting of one hundred pounds of tobacco each year.[15]

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[9] Nor'Wester, December 28, 1859.

[10] Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). See especially chapters 2 and 3.

[11] John Morgan Grey, Lord Selkirk of Red River, 232-235.

[12] The Saulteaux had only entered the region around 1780.

[13] Andrew McDermott, "Peguis Refuted," Nor'Wester, February 28, 1860. The Indians who did sign the treaty included: Mochewheocab (le Sonnant), Mechudewikonaie (La Robe Noire), Pegowis, Ouckidoat (Premier, alias Grandes Oreilles), and Kayajieke-bienoa (L'homme Noir).

This treaty only dealt with two miles on either side of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers; there remained some confusion as to who owned the land outside the two miles. According to Andrew McDermott, the Hudson's Bay Company claimed all the land beyond the two miles as well as within that distance, except what they had sold.[16] Whatever the case was, settlers generally felt they had rights to land outside of the two mile limit. In 1858, Eske-puck-a-koos, who styled himself as the chief of the heathen Indians at Red River, published a manifesto asking remuneration in return for permission to cut hay outside the two mile limit. He also threatened to burn the hay if this were not adhered to. Peguis at this time intervened and asserted that the settlers had a right to cut hay by his permission.[17]

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[14] Although the treaty reads two "English Statute Miles," it was later argued that the Indians had no concept of measurement in miles, and that the actual agreement made with the Indians stipulated land extending back from the river bank "as far as a man standing on the bank could see under the belly of a horse out into the plain." See Donald Gunn, "Peguis Vindicated", Nor'Wester, April 28, 1860.

[15] PAM, MG 2, A1-9, Copy of the Selkirk Treaty. In the 1860's when rumours were circulating that Red River might become a Crown Colony, a dispute developed about whether Peguis had ever actually sold the land. Peguis through an interpreter claimed that the Indians had only rented or allowed Selkirk and his settlers to reside on it. The bargain that had been struck was only preliminary to a final bargain. See "Native title to Indian Land," Nor'Wester, February 14, 1860; Andrew McDermott, "Peguis Refuted," Nor'Wester, February 28, 1860; Donald Gunn, "Peguis Vindicated," Nor'Wester, April 28, 1860.

[16] Andrew McDermott, "The Peguis Land Controversy," Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860.

Under Lord Selkirk's direction lands were granted freehold to colonists in plots of up to one hundred acres.[18] As Red River increasingly became a refuge for retired Hudson's Bay Company servants in the 1820s, Governor Simpson retained joint power with Selkirk's representatives to grant and sell lands.[19] Grants to former servants of the Company varied from as little as 3 chains (66 yards) of river frontage, with as little as 30 acres, to 12 chain lots containing upwards of 200 acres for former Chief Factors. In 1822 the Council of the Northern Department of the Hudson's Bay Company recommended that grants of lands to former servants be restricted to 30 acres or 3 chains.[20] Settlers usually supplemented this by purchasing an additional 3 chains from the Company. By 1833 Rev. William Cockran, the Anglican clergyman in charge of the Rapids Congregation (later to become the Parish of St. Andrews) commented on the usual practice there.

> He receives gratis a piece of land, 33 yards in breadth, and two miles in length. This is too narrow to fence and make a farm of. Therefore the dust of the balance, which has been collecting for 30 years, must be swept out at once to procure another piece, to add to his gratuity.[21]

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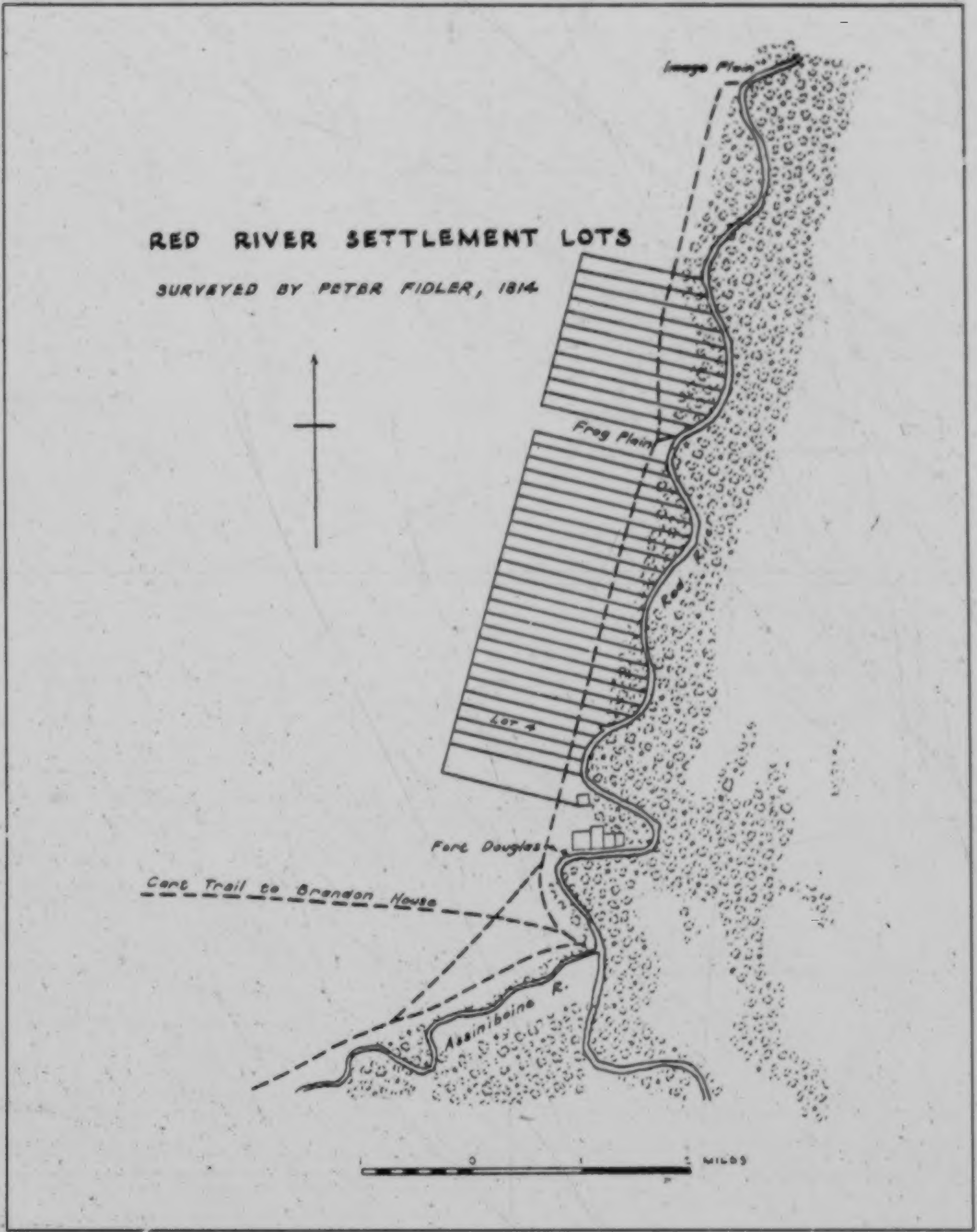
[17] Donald Gunn, "The Land Controversy," Nor'Wester, June 28, 1860.

[18] Archer Martin, The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures and the Occupation of Assiniboine by Lord Selkirk's Settlers, with a List of Grantees under the Earl and the Company (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1898), 22-64.

[19] "Memorandum for Captain R. Pelly respecting Red River Settlement, January 1823," Selkirk Papers, XXV, 7791; Reprinted in E.H. Oliver (ed.) The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9, 1914), 250-251.

[20] Minutes of Council of the Northern Department 1821-1831 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), 37.

[21] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I, Reel 3, Letter of Wm. Cockran to the Sec. of CMS July 25, 1833, 525.


RED RIVER SETTLEMENT LOTS
SURVEYED BY PETER FIDLER, 1814
Image Plain
Frog Plain
Red River
Lot 4
Fort Douglas
Cart Trail to Brandon House
Assiniboine R.
1 0 1 2 MILES

Map 4 Survey of Lots 1814

In return for the grant of land there were also conditions attached to continued tenure. In 1822, Andrew Bulger, Governor of Assiniboia, wrote to the Bishop of St. Boniface informing him that the one condition annexed to all grants of lands in Assiniboia stipulated that the grantee had to settle upon the land and cultivate a portion of it. He noted that many Canadians were also bound by their engagements to pay an annual rent of five bushels of wheat per hundred acres. Additionally, grants were accompanied by the obligation to provide six days of labour for the upkeep of the Colony's roads and bridges. They could also buy their land outright for the fixed price of five shillings sterling per acre.[22] By the time the Hudson's Bay Company took over the administration of the Colony in 1835, this was the established policy toward land tenure. The Hudson's Bay Company, at that time, ordered a survey of the settled portions of the settlement and began entering land grants and sales in a land register.[23] Over the years regulations changed little, except that by the 1850s the price of land had risen to 7s 6d sterling per acre, and title was given in the form of a lease for 999 years.[24]

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[22] The price of land was initially set at 9 shillings an acre but reduced to 5 shillings in 1822. Andrew Bulger to Bishop Juliopolis, September 10, 1822; reprinted in E. H. Oliver (ed.), The Canadian Northwest, 225. See also Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, 727.

[23] A survey and plan of the Red River settlement had been prepared by William Kempt in 1823, but it had been done in a very loose and incorrect manner. Neither of Kempt's plans of the Red River settlement have survived. Only the measurements and index to the plan are extant have survived. By 1833 there were few traces of the survey left as the flood of 1826 had obliterated most of them. Lots ran into each other and no one was certain about their own boundaries. These circumstances resulted in repeated quarrels. Consequently, the Hudson's Bay Company hired George Taylor who surveyed the settled portions of the Colony between 1836 and 1838. The lots were numbered from 1 to 899 on the Red River, and from 911 to 1528 on the Assiniboine. Once the surveys were completed the Company began entering the names of the legal owners of the lots in a registry book. See HBCA, E 6/10, "Measurements of the Lands of Red River Colony, Survey'd in 1822 & 1823"; And HBCA, E 6/11, "Index to the Plan of RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, ..." PAM, MG 2, A1-13, Typescript of a letter from George Simpson to Andrew Colvile, Red River Settlement, May 15, 1833. The original letter is found in the Selkirk Papers, P-8500 to P-8505.

If this was the official policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, however, there was also a tradition of land tenure based on occupation. Those inhabitants who squatted on lands unclaimed by another, which were not more than ordinarily valuable, were left undisturbed. In 1833 Governor Simpson considered it inadvisable to disturb any of them until real purchasers appeared as any attempt to remove them at once was bound to result in resistance.[25] By 1857, Governor Simpson stated that the Company could not prevent squatting nor should it endeavour to try to prevent it.[26] By the 1860s it was recognized that beyond the surveyed limits of the settlement squatters could settle without paying for the land, though claims were not to exceed 12 chains.[27]

Another exception to the official policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was the method of land disposition at White Horse Plain (the Parish of St. Francois Xavier). In attempting to convince the metis of Pembina to resettle on British territory, Governor Simpson had granted Cuthbert Grant a tract of land on the Assiniboine at White Horse Plain on which to settle his metis kinsmen. Grant viewed this land as a personal seigniory and parcelled out the land to the displaced metis of Pembina in 12 chain lots.[28] This method of disposition later created a good deal of confusion as the Company officers still regarded themselves as proprietors, whereas settlers laboured under the illusion that they owned the land through Cuthbert Grant.[29]

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[24] The conditions in the lease were: First, that one-tenth of the land is to be brought into cultivation within five years; Second, that trading or dealing with Indians or others so as to violate the chartered privileges of the Company, be forsworn; Third, obedience to all laws of the Company; Fourth, contributions to expenses of public establishments in due proportion; Fifth, all trade or traffic in any kind of skins, furs, peltry, or dressed leather, except under licence of the Company, forbidden; Sixth, land not to be disposed of or let, or assigned with out consent of the Company. See H.Y. Hind, "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement," British Parliamentary Papers: Papers Relating to Canada 1859 - Colonies 22, 562. See also "To Red River and Beyond," Harpers Magazine, (February 1861): 317-318.

[25] PAM, MG 2, A1-13, Letter of George Simpson to Andrew Colvile, May 15, 1833, p. 2.

[26] Testimony of George Simpson, Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company (London, 1857), 94.

[27] "Papers Relative to the exploration of the Country" 563. "To Red River and Beyond," Harpers Magazine, (February, 1861): 318. Joseph James Hargrave, Red River (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871), 309-310.

Land holding in Red River followed, in the main, a pattern of peasant tenure. The inhabitants of Red River possessed the "means of production," particularly land, even if they did not own them. They managed their farms as they saw fit, individually, or collectively, in a village community -- but were subject to some form of domain that deprived them of perfect ownership.[30] Comments of visitors to Red River stressed the organic nature of this community which resembled a medieval village. J. Wesley Bond, a companion of Governor Ramsey of Minnesota Territory visited the settlement in 1851 and described a lengthy serpentine village:

> farmhouses, with barns, stables, hay, wheat and barley stacks with small cultivated fields or lots, well fenced, are stretched along the meandering river, while the prairies far off to the horizon are covered with herds of cattle, horses & c., the fields filled with a busy throng of white, half-breeds, Indian-men, squaws, and children all reaping, binding and stalking the golden grain.

The whole, he continued, presented the appearance such as one would find exhibited in pictures of English country villages.[31]

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[28] Margaret Macleod and W. L. Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 84-95.

[29] PAM, MG 19 A4, W. D. Lane Papers, Correspondence Inward, Letter of J. Clouston to Wm. Lane, October 9, 1855.

[30] See Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant, xi.

[31] Quoted in W. L. Morton, "Introduction," Eden Colvile's Letters, edited by E. E. Rich (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), xxiii-xiv.

These river-lot villages combined elements of the French Canadian river-lot survey and the Scottish system of infield-outfield agriculture.[32] In this old celtic mode of land management introduced with Lord Selkirk,

> the cottage and byre of the farmstead stood by the infield, often at a stream edge in a valley. Behind stretched a large outfield often pasture and fallow . . . on the hillside behind the farmer had the right to pasturage and in summer sent his cattle back into the hills to graze.[33]

In Red River cottage and byre had arisen by the riverside with the small fenced plots or "parks" cropped year after year recalling the infield of the Scottish system. The rear section of the two-mile-deep lot was pastured as the outfield had been in Scotland, and the two miles beyond this became the hay privilege of the owners of the lot.[34]

The metis economy

Settling on these narrow river lots the inhabitants of Red River slowly developed a hybrid peasant economy that combined small scale farming with an organized buffalo hunt.[35] While this was supplemented by seasonal labour for the Hudson's Bay Company, duck hunting, and fisheries in Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, the river lot farm and buffalo hunt remained the economic focus of most settlers up to the 1840s. There is, in general, scholarly agreement that agriculture and the hunt were supplementary to each other in Red River, but recourse is still made to the "attraction of the hunt" to explain the varying degrees of commitment to agriculture. It is clear from census figures, however, that by 1835 small scale peasant agriculture was the norm in most Red River parishes. It would appear that the metis, gravitating towards the Red River Colony because of the lack of other economic opportunities, all grew some crops for subsistence.

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[32] There was also the precedent of metis river-lot settlements on the Great Lakes. At Green Bay river lots were 1 to 5 arpents wide (1 arpent = 63 1/4 yards) running back from the river for 40 arpents. See the survey of Green Bay in American State Papers: Public Lands, Vol. 5.

[33] Ibid., page xxv.

[34] Ibid., page xxv. A variation of this pattern were "Park Lots" located in the outer two miles of unoccupied lots and consisted of choice pieces of prairie land on which the settler would break and cultivate a few acres. In many cases the claimant would also build a cabin on the lot and live on it in the summer, taking his calves and cows out for better pasturage. There were a large number of these park lots in St. Andrew's and they varied from 2 to 100 acres. After being left uncultivated for a number of years these lots could be claimed by others. Usually an absence of 3 to 4 years was enough for the lot to be considered abandoned. Others in the Settlement claimed that the period was 7 to 8 years, and still others claimed that ceasing to cultivate or occupy these park lots did not invalidate the claim. This resulted in many disputes between claimants, but there had been no judicial decision on the question before 1870. PAM, MG9 A4, Manuscript of William Pearce's The Three Prairie Provinces (1925), 21.

Although the Settlement's first good crops were harvested in 1824,[36] it was not until 1827, the year after the disastrous flood, that agriculture became established in the Colony. Between 1827 and 1835 a succession of good crops put the Colony on a stable footing. By 1830 the Settlement was almost completely rebuilt with 204 new houses, new barns, and enclosures erected.[37] Land under cultivation, in turn, rose from 2152 acres in 1831 to over 3500 in 1835.[38] The establishment of farms on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was, according to one observer, much less difficult than in many other places. At most locations, all that was necessary to put a plough into the ground was to clear or burn off some brush. In many places it was only necessary to erect an enclosure around a field and plough it.[39] The necessity of enclosing all cultivated fields to protect the crops from cattle roaming at large, and the increasing scarcity of wood needed to build these enclosures, kept fields small. Five acres was considered a large plot in Red River.[40] Cultivated plots were also kept small by the level of farm technology,[41] and the absence of a market for surplus production.[42] The marshy state of the back land at the time and the inability of the steel-tipped wooden plough to cut through the heavy soil and grass growth of the meadow lands tied cultivation and settlement to the river lot. These early ploughs, however, were able to handle the loamy silt soils of well-drained river lots.[43]

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[35] W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," Canadian Historical Review XXX, 1949. Reprinted in A. B. McKillop (ed.), Contexts of Canada's Past: Selected Essays of W. L. Morton (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1980), 70. Page numbers refer to this edition.

[36] Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State with Some Account of the Native Races, and its General History to the Present Day (London, 1856), 78.

[37] Ibid., 110.

[38] PAM, Censuses of the Red River Settlement.

Contrary to the historiography on the subject, which has long posited the greater commitment to agriculture of the English metis and European communities,[44] there appears to have been little difference in terms of cultivated acreage among the various communities in the Red River Settlement in the 1830s. There was a pattern of subsistence agriculture with an average of 5 to 6 cultivated acres per family, working out to approximately 1 acre per person. The cultivated acres per family and individual in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrews were, in fact, almost identical. The number of larger farms in the two parishes is also very similar with 22 families (23% of the parish's families) cultivating 10 or more acres in St. Andrews, and 26 families (27% of the parish's families) in St. Francois Xavier. Within both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrews there was a discrepancy in cultivation between families headed by Europeans and those families headed by metis. While almost all family members (wives and

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[39] AASB, Fonds Provencher, Letter of Louis Lafleche St. Francois Xavier, 1 Juin 1845, P0908-0909. Up until at least the 1860s the type of plows used at Red River were iron-pointed wooden ploughs of American or British manufacture. H. Y. Hind, travelling through the Settlement in 1856, noted that these plows were valued at £4, 10 s. H. Y. Hind, "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country," 556.

[40] W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," 80. Barbed wire was not introduced to the area until the 1880's.

[41] Cultivation techniques before 1850 included broadcast sowing on roughly plowed and harrowed land, while the harvest was carried out with sickle, scythe and flail. Ibid., 75-80.

[42] H. Y. Hind, "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country," 554.

[43] W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," 79-80.

[44] This interpretation runs from Alexander Ross' The Red River Settlement, through George F. G. Stanley's The Birth of Western Canada, Marcel Giraud's Le Métis Canadian, W. L. Morton's various works to more recent studies such as W. Leland Clark, "The Place of the Metis within the Agricultural Economy of the Red River during the 1840's and 1850's," The Canadian Journal of Native Studies III (1983). The basis of this interpretation are the censuses of Red River in the mid to late 1840s, ignoring the earlier censuses and the 1830s, and thus missing the crucial economic transition that occurred in the 1840s.

TABLE 1
Population and Cultivation in Red River in 1835

	ST. ANDREWS	ST. F. XAVIER	RED RIVER
Total Population	547 (15%)[45]	506 (13.8%)	3646
No. of Single Adults	3	5	----
No. of Families	94 (14.3%)	97 (14.7%)	658
Av. Family Size	5.78	5.16	5.55
% metis (fam. head)	53.6	74.5	----
Cultivated Acreage	566 (16.2%)	594 (17%)	3504
Cult. per Family	6.02	6.12	5.33
Cult. per Person	1.03	1.17	.96
No. Cult. +10 Acres	22	26	----
Cult./metis Fam. Head	4.04	4.62	----
Cult./Eur. Fam. Head	7.93	9.34	----

Source: Census of Red River,1835[46]

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[45] The percentages in brackets represent the percentage of the total of the whole Settlement.

[46] While the 1835 census did not break down the population by parish, this was accomplished by using parish registers, the HBC land register, and other censuses (see Appendix A).

children) were metis, those families that were headed by European males generally cultivated about twice as much as families headed by metis males. To some extent this was due simply to the fact that European heads of family were usually older, had larger families, and hence more sons at home to help farm.

The staple crop of the Colony by the 1850s was an early maturing spring wheat[47] which produced high yields. According to H. Y. Hind, who travelled through the Settlement in 1857, yields of 40 bushels per acre were common on new ground.[48] Father Lafleche, arriving in St. Francois Xavier in 1844, noted that wheat fields were the height of a man, and that a farmer sowing 17 minots of wheat harvested 372 minots.[49] Harvest season began in late August and ran into September. The grain was reaped with the sickle before 1850. The women and children bound the sheaves behind the men in "shocks." The reaped grain was then carted from the field to the farmyard and stacked. In the winter threshing began with the flail pounding out the grain on the threshing floor in the barn. It was then winnowed in the cold cross draught of the two-doored barn, and sifted through home-made sieves. The threshing season lasted throughout the winter, grain being threshed as it was needed for food or sale.[50] Because of the absence of any external market, most of this wheat was ground into flour for Colony consumption at one of the 13 wind and water mills in the Settlement in the 1830s.[51] Other crops included barley, oats, corn, potatoes and turnips, but there was little other use for grain other than feed for animals. Some barley was malted for home brewing of beer, but all attempts to establish a distillery failed.[52]

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[47] The standard strain of wheat before 1850 was the Prairie du Chien variety. Other wheat strains grown in the Colony included Black Sea, English, Irish, and Scottish wheat. Nor'Wester, September 14, 1860. Also see W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," 74.

[48] H. Y. Hind, "Papers relative to the Exploration of the Country," 554. According to Hind, the wheat was ready for harvesting three months after sowing. A more careful calculation by W. L. Morton put the growing season at about 110 days. W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," 71-73.

[49] AASB, Letter of Father Lafleche, 1 Juin 1845, P0909-09099. 1 minot = 1.107 bushels.

[50] W. L. Morton, "Introduction," London Correspondence Inward, Eden Colvile, 1849-1852 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), xxviii-xxix.

Livestock, although common on most river lots by the 1830's, were raised mainly for motive power and for household consumption. Cattle were introduced in 1822-23, and pigs shortly thereafter. Before 1827, livestock met with limited success as the severity of winters and attacks by wolves limited returns.[53] The principal problem, however, was the lack of winter fodder as the settlers lacked experience in haying.[54] But as settlers gained experience in harvesting hay from the plains, livestock became increasingly important in the economy of Red River.[55] Between 1831 and 1835 total livestock production increased from 3725 to 7617 animals (see Table 2). By 1835 most settlers had a horse for riding and pulling the ubiquitous Red River Cart, a pair of oxen for plowing,[56] along with some cattle and pigs for meat. The differences between the St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier totals for cattle and pigs arose in all likelihood from the greater reliance of the St. Francois Xavier metis on buffalo for meat.

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[51] Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 121. Wheat and other grain production remained at subsistence levels until the 1870s. In 1849 there were still only 6392 acres under cultivation in the colony -- less than 1.2 acres per person. In St. Andrew's, one of the more agricultural parishes after 1849, the average cultivation per person remained under 1.3 acres per person up until 1870.

[52] H. Y. Hind, "Papers relative to the Exploration of the Country," 555; W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," 75.

[53] W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," 70.

[54] Barry Kaye, "'The Settlers' Grand Difficulty:' Haying in the economy of the Red River Settlement," Prairie Forum 9, No. 1 (1984): 3.

[55] For winter fodder each farmer could count on what his lot and the two mile hay privilege could yield. This he mowed when he thought fit and his other work allowed. If he required more, he had recourse to the plains. Competition for the hay of the wild land behind the hay privilege had become so intense that the Council of Assiniboia instituted regulations governing the cutting of hay on the plains. W. L. Morton, "Introduction," London Correspondence Inward, Eden Colvile, 1849-52, xxxi.

It is true that a good deal of the colony's provisions each year were provided by the biannual buffalo hunt. Contrary to W. L. Morton's proposition, however, that agriculture and the hunt acted as a fatal check on each other with the one depressing the price of the other's produce,[57] subsistence agriculture and the buffalo hunt were much more complementary than competitive. In years when the hunt failed the produce of agriculture helped provide the needs of the metis hunters, and vice-versa.[58] Census returns also indicate that most metis in the various parishes had some cultivated land in the 1830s[59], dispelling the notion that the hunting and farming economies originated in different sections of the population.

The Red River Buffalo hunt as an organized expedition appears to have begun around 1820.[60] Previous to this the buffalo were found so close to the settlement that individuals and small groups could secure their food supply without leaving the Colony

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[56] Using the technique of multiple regression on the various census variables, it was discovered that the most important variable in predicting the number of cattle was cultivated acreage. Horses according to this same statistical test had a low correlation to cultivated acreage, and apparently were not widely used for plowing, but had a high correlation to the number of carts.

[57] W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony."

[58] Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Red River Settlement from 1812 to 1870," (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967). G. Herman Sprenger, "The Metis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs Agriculture in the Red River Settlement (circa 1810-1870)," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 3, No. 1 (1972): 158-178.

[59] In the 1835 census 80 of 94 families (85.10 %) in the parish of St. Andrews cultivated at least 1 acre. In St. Francois Xavier, 76 of 97 families (78.35 %) cultivated at least 1 acre.

[60] F. G. Roe, The North American Buffalo, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 368.

TABLE 2
Livestock Production in Red River, 1835

	ST. ANDREWS	ST. F. XAVIER	RED RIVER
Total Livestock	1223 (16%)	884 (11.6%)	7617
Av. per Family	12.87	8.93	11.6
Total Horses	87 (12.1%)	131 (18.2%)	718
Av. per Family	0.93	1.35	1.1
Total Cattle[61]	824 (16.9%)	555 (11.4%)	4874
Av. per Family	8.76	5.72	7.40
Total Pigs	312 (15.4%)	198 (9.7%)	2025
Av. per Family	3.28	2.0	3.07

Source: Red River Census, 1835

for an extended period. According to Alexander Ross, the number of carts going on the hunt increased rapidly up to the year 1840.[62] An indication of the quantity of provisions returned is the calculation by Rev. G. A. Belcourt that it took the meat of eight to ten cows to make up a cart load.[63] There were two hunts a year -- one in summer and another in fall. The summer hunt generally departed in June and returned in August,[64] while the fall hunt -- generally the smaller of the two[65] -- began in early October and ended in November. Both hunts were important to the economy of Red River, and all metis communities took part in them. In the fall of 1829 Bishop Provencher commented that women were doing all the men's work in the French parishes as the men were on the plains hunting buffalo.[66] Similarly William Cockran, the missionary stationed in what was to become the parish of St. Andrew's, complained in 1830 that since the middle of June his congregation consisted principally of women, children and old men, the others having gone off on the hunt.[67] The degree to which the hunt was complementary to the agricultural economy is attested to by the same William Cockran. An avowed opponent of the hunt, Cockran was nevertheless obliged to send a cart with the hunt himself in 1837 to gather provisions for the Indian schools as there was no prospect of getting a crop from the ground that year.[68]

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[61] Includes oxen and calves.

[62] 1820: 540 carts; 1825: 680 carts; 1830: 820 carts; 1835: 970 carts; 1840: 1210 carts. Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 402.

[63] G. A. Belcourt, "Account of a Buffalo hunt," North Dakota Historical Quarterly 5, 134-55. Another, less accurate translation of this account appears in The Beaver, (December 1954).

[64] Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 144-169.

[65] The reason Belcourt gave for the smaller size of the fall hunt was that some hunters had already left the settlement to winter on the plains. Other reasons could have been the need to harvest late crops, and prepare winter forage, and the opportunity of working on H.B.Co. boats.

Red River in the 1830s thus represented an amalgam of small, largely metis, peasant communities of varying ethnic and religious orientations. These small metis parishes along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers were part of a larger community and yet separate from each other. If there was little inter-marriage between the various ethnic and religious groups, it was due more to the fact that there was little inter-marriage between any communities, even of the same ethnic origin (see chapter on marriage patterns). Daily life revolved almost exclusively around the parish and the neighborhood; children generally grew up, went to school, courted and married within the same parish. Nevertheless, the metis were united during this period by their common economic orientation -- a peasant subsistence economy based on river-front agriculture, the plains hunt, and the fisheries. While they lived in separate areas of the settlement during the rest of the year, and in large measure married within their own community, for a few months each year members of most communities lived in relative harmony on the buffalo hunt.[69] Thus although the Red River parishes were quite distinct entities, the English and French metis had a similar way of life in the 1830s. As late as 1845, Father Lafleche, the Roman Catholic priest at St. Francois Xavier, noted that the colony was made up of French Catholic and English Protestant metis sections, and that "les deux sections de la population vivent en parfait union."[70] This unity of the English and French metis can be glimpsed in the popular upheavals of the 1830s.

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[66] AASB, Fonds Provencher, Bishop Provencher to Bishop Panet, July 1, 1829.

[67] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I, Reel 3, Wm. Cockran to Sec., July 29, 1830, 399-400.

[68] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. II (Reel 3), Cockran Journal, June 12, 1837, 271.

Social Structure and Conflict

In establishing the various parishes and settlements that made up the Red River Colony, both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Churches attempted to recreate the social order that had antecedents in the trading post and the European rural parish. The Anglican and Catholic clergy shared with the Hudson's Bay Company a common vision of the social structure of Red River society where the clergy as well as the retired and active commissioned gentlemen of the Company formed the ruling elite in the Colony, providing guidance for the lower orders.

At the top of this pyramidal social structure, which was based both on social standing and material wealth, were the Colony's "Principal Settlers." This small group consisted largely of British and a few Canadian-born officers of the former North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, who had retired and settled with their metis families in the Red River Settlement. They possessed not only the wealth, but the habits, and in some cases the education that qualified them for leadership in Red River. As such, they existed as the social equals of the senior officers in the Hudson's Bay Company service. In the English speaking part of the Settlement, these families included the Birds, Logans, Sutherlands, and Gunns.[71] Among the French speaking settlers of St. Francois Xavier, the principal settlers included the families of Angus McGillis, Cuthbert Grant, Pierre Falcon, and Alexander Breland. It is interesting to note that of the above named only Angus McGillis was Canadian-born. The rest were born in the settlement or the northwest, and headed 2nd generation metis families. This pattern, unlike the one at St. Andrews where most principal settlers were British-born, was due to the tendency of Canadian-born officers of the fur trade to retire to Canada. This metis heritage reduced their standing with the Company's officers and British-born in the Settlement.

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[69] John E. Foster, "The Country-Born of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," 206-208.

[70] AASB, Fonds Provencher, P0932-0933, Louis Lafleche to Quebec, 1 Juin 1845.

Representative of this squirearchy in St. Francois Xavier was Cuthbert Grant, whose double river lot was the centre of the parish. Born the son of a prominent North-West Company trading partner and a plains Indian woman[72] in 1797, Grant was educated in Scotland but returned to the northwest and the fur trade. Precluded from joining the new Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 because of his participation in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816, Grant was appointed "Warden of the Plains" by George Simpson in 1824. With this came a salary of £200 a year, and a large tract of land on the Assiniboine on which to settle his metis kinsmen. Simpson was impressed with Grant's "mild manners," "cool determination" and his influence over the French metis, and hoped he would use his influence to prevent metis participation in the illicit fur trade. By 1835 Grant, along with his wife Marie McGillis and six children, not only cultivated 20 acres, but owned

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[71] Elaine Allan Mitchell, "Red River Gossip," The Beaver (Spring 1961): 4-11. This article consists of a number of letters of Robert Clouston who was in the Colony in the early 1840s, and who commented on some of the leading personages in the Colony. John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," 181-185. Robert Coutts, St. Andrews Parish 1829-1929 and the Church Missionary Society in Red River, Draft Manuscript, (Parks Canada, 1986), 93-94; W. L. Morton, "Introduction," Eden Colvile's Letters, xviii-xx.

[72] Cuthburt Grant Sr.'s Indian mate is not identifiable in the historical records. Since Cuthburt Jr. was born at a post on the Upper Assiniboine River it is probable that his mother was a Plains Indian. Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 89-90.

24 cattle, 6 horses, and 10 carts, indicating a dual involvement in agriculture and trade.[73]

One of St. Andrews' principal settlers was James Sutherland who occupied lots 96 and 97. Originally from Ronaldshay in the Orkney Islands, Sutherland joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1797 and was stationed at Cumberland House. In 1821 he was made Chief Factor in charge of Swan River District, and in 1827 he retired to Red River with his family of seven children. Here he married Jane Flett, a native women with whom he had been living for many years, and who was the mother of his children. By 1835, Sutherland cultivated 25 acres, owned 18 cattle, 5 horses, and 3 carts, and lived in fine fashion.[74] Like other principal settlers, Sutherland was able to afford the accoutrements of life which constituted the "correct" way. According to Sutherland the Red River elite had "introduced a system of extravagance in the place which is followed by all that can afford it, and to keep up in a little respectability have followed it in a small way."[75] Sutherland noted that his own household expenses had doubled since he arrived in Red River.

Beneath the rank of principal settler, there was a small group of private merchants, and lay officials of the Church such as school teachers and catechists. This covered a wide spectrum of individuals including retired Hudson's Bay Company servants of senior rank, and metis sons of retired officers who did not possess the same prestige as the principal settlers.[76] Below this were the bulk of the metis who worked their small holdings, laboured on the boats, and hunted the buffalo. There was little upward mobility in this society,[77] and even James Sutherland was at a loss to ensure the social standing of his metis children.

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[73] PAM, Census of Red River, 1835.

[74] Ibid.; Robert Coutts, St. Andrews Parish, 93-94.

[75] James Sutherland to John Sutherland, August 10, 1842. Quoted in John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement . . .," 185.

[76] John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," 186-189.

> I have now four sons at the house with me, the two oldest are now men fit for any duty in this part of the world their [sic] is no opportunity for young people to push themselves forward in any way, better than labourers, either as farmers or Boatmen in the Cos service and either way they can barely make a living -- my two youngest sons has got a better Education than I had when I came to this country yet it will be of no use to them . . .[78]

If the majority of the metis in the Settlement had made the transition to a settled economy and hierarchical social structure by the 1830s, it was a painful transition for many.[79] Most of the metis, having grown up in the vicinity of the various trading posts of the northwest, were not only ill-prepared to become farmers, but found the back-breaking labour of clearing land for cultivation unpleasant. This combined with the hardening social divisions in the settlement created a number of upheavals in the 1830s.

Changes in the Company's employment practices after 1821, especially the increased use of seasonal labour, weakened the bonds linking officers with servants. The Company's practice, after 1825, of selecting its officers largely from Highland Scots in Great Britain also severed the ties between the metis and the officers active in the

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[77] Between 1821 and 1826 the salaried work force of the Hudson's Bay Company was reduced by 1233 men, a 65% reduction. While metis could and did become postmasters (a position created in 1832 below that of a clerk) there was little mobility from this class. See Philip Goldering, "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900: Volume 1," Manuscript Report No. 362 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979), 29-43, 206. Whereas 18th century Hudson's Bay Company apprentices and labourers could aspire to high position, it became unheard of for any servant, white or native-born, to become a "gentleman" by the 1840s. Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 205-206.

[78] James Sutherland to John Sutherland, August 10, 1842. Quoted in John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," 185.

[79] AASB, Fonds Provencher, J.B. Thibault (Red River) to Mgr. L'Évêque de Quebec, 24 juillet 1836, P1855-1858. CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I, Reel 3, Journal of Wm. Cockran, August 2, 1832, pp.480-482.

Company's service.[80] This resentment escalated into an open rupture in late 1834. Shortly before Christmas of 1834, a metis tripman by the name of Antoine Larocque went to Upper Fort Garry to receive a second installment of wages owed him for an upcoming trip.[81] According to surviving accounts, the Hudson's Bay Company clerk used insulting language when addressing Larocque who returned the compliment in kind. Thomas Simpson, the clerk in charge, then became enraged at the insolence of Larocque and struck him on the head with an iron poker. With blood streaming out of the wound, Larocque ran out of the Fort rousing other metis to respond to this injustice. The entire metis community in the settlement took up arms in his defense, demanding that Simpson be delivered over to them to take his punishment or they would demolish the fort.[82]

The English metis might have remained aloof from this incident except for the fact that they also had standing grievances against the Company and the social elite of the Colony. They had been particularly insulted when, earlier in 1834, William Hallet, a metis son of former officer, Henry Hallet, had been rejected as a suitor for the daughter of Chief Factor Allan McDonell in favour of the son of a Selkirk settler.[83] While the girl preferred Hallet, her guardian, the Governor of Assiniboia, preferred the Scottish lad. The Governor sent for Hallet and reprimanded him for aspiring to the hand of a lady accustomed "to the first society." As Hallet was a leader of the English metis, this insult became a rallying point among all English metis. According to Alexander Ross, they decided that if this was the way they were to be treated they would henceforth band together against the leaders of the Colony.[84] Thus it was not surprising, when the French metis approached them to join in their resistance following the Larocque incident, that they readily joined the cause. According to William Cockran, the minister of St. Andrew's at the time, the French metis were active in stirring up feelings among his parishioners, and soon got them to unite in the same protest.[85]

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[80] John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement . . .," 180; See also Philip Goldring, Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900, 2 Vols. Manuscript Report Nos. 362 & 412, (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979-80). Philip Goldring, in a study of Hudson's Bay Company recruitment practices, has since argued that the hiring procedures were not as biased as believed. However, he does acknowledge that many of more acculturated (to British norms) English metis felt that the cards were stacked against them because of their race. Philip Goldring, "Governor Simpson's Officers: Elite Recruitment in a British Overseas Enterprise, 1834-1870," Prairie Forum 10, No. 2 (Autumn 1985): 264-267.

[81] Tripmen were paid in part before a trip was made, usually according to a fairly well established system: one installment on the approach of winter, a second at Christmas or New Years, a third before leaving in Summer and the final payment after the voyage was made.

[82] Sources for this incident include A. S. Morton, History of the Canadian West to 1871, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 683-684. A. C. Garrioch, The Correction Line (Winnipeg: Stovel Company Ltd., 1933), 144-146. J. J. Gunn, Echoes of the Red (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1930), 40-41; Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, 233. Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856), 167-169. A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Canada, Vol. I (Toronto: The Mission Book Company, 1910), 144-146.

Faced with a metis mob demanding that Thomas Simpson be delivered up to them to be dealt with according to their law of retaliation, the Company officers immediately shut the gates of the fort and refused the request. This only inflamed the growing mob, who now threatened to scalp the Governor and drive all the whites out of country.[86] In desperation the Governor, Alexander Christie, turned to the clergy in hopes of pacifying the metis. A message was sent to St. Boniface summoning Father Belcourt to talk with the metis. After hours of negotiation Belcourt managed to convince the assembled crowd to desist if the Governor agreed to let Larocque draw his wages without performing his trip, and agreed to give the metis a 10 gallon keg of rum and tobacco in proportion.[87] In St. Andrew's, Cockran threatened his parishioners with perdition if they did not desist, claiming they would have to shoot him if they did not.[88]

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[83] This Scotchman who later married the girl was John Livingston.

[84] Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 238.

[85] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. II, Reel 3, Wm. Cockran to Sec., October 28, 1835, 124-125.

[86] A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Canada, 144-146; CMS Records, I.C., L.B. II, Reel 3, Cockran to Sec., August 5, 1835, 79.

The general characteristics of this revolt are in keeping with what could be termed a peasant revolt: spontaneous, unorganized, amorphous political action with little ideology, often appearing as short outbursts of accumulated frustration and rebellious feeling, but easily suppressed.[89] These movements of protest among peasants frequently centered upon the myth of a social order more just and egalitarian than the existing hierarchy demonstrated.[90] A cry for vengeance on the rich and the oppressor, a righting of individual wrongs, and a vague dream of putting some curb on the powers of the rulers were features of such events.[91] Although this metis rising of 1834-35 was quickly defused and stability returned to the settlement it was not without effect and it did act as a stimulus to change in the government of the Settlement.

As a result of the rising of 1834 some metis may have realized that if they were united the Company had to have at least their tacit assent to govern the Colony. In 1835 the Hudson's Bay Company attempted to distance itself, at least in appearances, from the government of the Colony. It expanded the membership of the Council of Assiniboia, made it more representative, and created new judicial machinery. They created four judicial districts with a magistrate or justice of the peace appointed for each district to hear cases of petty offences, and a general court, held at the Governor's residence the last Thursday of every quarter, to hear more important cases.[92] To ensure the Council also had some measure of authority, an armed police force of 60 officers and privates was proposed. This system of government was generally accepted by the metis but particular practices which they regarded as contrary to their traditional ways could provoke resistance. An example occurred when the first petty jury was empanelled to hear the case of Louis St. Denis, accused of theft in 1836. While his conviction was generally accepted by the metis community, his sentence of flogging created a feeling of indignation in the community. Although the sentence was carried out with the help of the police force, the man who administered the flogging had to flee for his life.[93] Thereafter, flogging was abandoned as a sentence.

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[87] A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Canada, 146; A.S. Morton, History of the Canadian West to 1871, 684. PAM, Belleau Collection, Letter of Belcourt to Bishop Singay, Quebec, December 21, 1847.

[88] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. II, Reel 3, Cockran to Sec., August 5, 1835, 79.

[89] Teodor Shanin, "Peasants as a Political Factor," in Teodor Shanin, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies, 258.

[90] Eric R. Wolf, Peasants (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), 106.

[91] E. J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 5-24.

It was only with the 1840s that metis protests began to take on the ideology of freer trade and became more organized. As such, they were related to changes in the economy of the Red River Settlement, changes which would integrate the Colony into the wider world and produce large upheavals in the Settlement. These changes began to break down the economic unity of the metis. The different metis communities began to diverge along occupational lines, and within communities the metis divided along economic lines.

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[92] E. H. Oliver, ed., The Canadian North-West, I (Ottawa, 1914), 86. The four districts were: 1)Image Plain to the Indian Settlement - James Bird 2)Image Plain to the Forks - James Sutherland 3) The Forks south - Robert Logan 4) White Horse Plains - Cuthbert Grant.

[93] Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, 253.

Chapter IV

The metis and the Transition from Peasant Society to Market Capitalism in Red River, 1840-1870

The inception of competitive markets in the Red River region in the 1840s marked the beginning of a period of great social and political change.[1] Previous to this, the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly and the distance to American markets had ensured that the Colony would be connected to only one price-setting market. The Hudson's Bay Company, in effect, acted as an efficient method of channelling an upward flow of furs, and a downward flow of goods. The opening of American fur markets after 1844, however, transformed the metis political economy in Red River. Those metis who adapted to the new opportunities divided between surplus producers and surplus takers, in a situation where the metis merchant came into his own. Some of the Red River metis became specialists, competing with other metis in the production of goods and services.

Not all metis individuals or communities reacted to these changes in the same way. Most of the metis of St. Francois Xavier, eagerly responded to the increased demand for buffalo robes, transforming their household economies into "factories" for the production of these robes. The metis of St. Andrew's, on the other hand, reacted differently. Some became involved in the buffalo robe trade, some in contract freighting, and some in the trade in cattle to the United States, but many more simply continued their peasant subsistence farming. Thus by the 1860s metis society in Red River was becoming increasingly differentiated and divided.

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[1] The competitive market is defined not only by its price regulation, but by the production and distribution of commodities. One of the features which follows the introduction of of capitalism into a region is the dominance of markets which integrate production on an inter-regional and international scale. Richard Hodges, Primitive and Peasant Markets, 62-63.

Most historians of the Red River Settlement have acknowledged the integration of the Colony, after the mid-1840s, into the wider world and an upheaval of the "old order" in the Settlement. However, they have seen these developments as imposed from outside, with the metis playing no purposeful role in these events or reacting blindly against them. Marcel Giraud recognized some economic differentiation among the metis with the emergence of a small group of bourgeoisie who had responded to the new economic opportunities, following the end of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly in 1849, but he still characterized the metis response as governed by primitive impulses. Giraud saw metis society, though stabilized through the influence of the clergy, as an uneducated, primitive society, lacking a clarity of vision. Their agitation against the HBC monopoly in 1849 was not motivated by modern ideas but rather by an ambition for "National Independence." Their continued reliance on buffalo hunting, "wintering" and their eventual migration west were evidence of a retreat to primitivism.[2] Similarly, W. L. Morton acknowledged the growing trade of the colony in the 1840s and the advance of the American agricultural frontier; but for him the monotony of primitive life, and the stagnation of the old order was broken in the late 1850s with the expiry of the Hudson's Bay Company licence and the arrival of the Hind and Palliser expeditions. These two developments opened the door to Canadian colonization. Looking ahead to the new agricultural frontier, he asserted that the fifties were the years of a declining fur trade, completely ignoring the rising buffalo robe trade and the widespread metis participation in this capitalistic enterprise.[3]

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[2] Marcel Giraud, The Métis in the Canadian West, Vol. II, translated by George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), 191-209, 254, 385, 393-394.

[3] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 89-104.

The one historian who has seen the upheaval of the 1850s as emanating from within Red River is Frits Pannekoek. He has not seen, however, any economic rationale for this upheaval. He has argued that Red River was a brittle society whose parts were mutually antagonistic -- a society being torn apart by sectarian strife and racial conflict, caused in large part by the actions of the Anglican Church.[4] Although the arrival of the Canadians and the preaching of the protestant clergy affected the metis in Red River, it was the changes in the political economy of the Red River metis in the 1840s which produced the largest upheaval in the Settlement. These changes, involving as they did the resurgence of metis involvement in the fur trade, did not signal a return to "primitivism" or "nomadism," but a proto-industrialization of the metis family economy -- that is, the process of industrialization before the movement of large numbers of workers to factory employment. Proto-industrialization was in the words of David Levine a stage in the transition from feudalism to capitalism -- "a halfway house."[5]

In Europe proto-industrialization was an outcome of the destabilization and decomposition of traditional peasant societies, and it represented the "primary social relation of production" in the transition from traditional peasant society to industrial capitalism.[6] Proto-industrialization was the industrialization of the "cottage industry" whereby manufacturing industries were located in the countryside, and production organized in cottage workshops. Men, women, and children combined the manufacturing of textiles, leather goods, metal wares, and similar items with subsistence farming. The essence of this cottage industry was that the labour employed in this manner was cheap; therefore, goods produced were competitive in national and international markets. The functional inter-relationships between the family economy and merchant capital gave this configuration the traits of a distinctive socio-economic system.[7] This cottage industry preceded and sometimes led to modern industry, and, as a result, has been labelled proto-industry -- that is, the first phase of industrialization. In some instances, however, the second phase did not occur; instead, rural industry decayed producing de-industrialization.[8]

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[4] Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," and "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869".

[5] David Levine, Family Formation in An Age of Nascent Capitalism (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 2.

[6] Hans Medick, "The Proto-industrial family economy: the structural function of household and family during the transition from Peasant society to Industrial Capitalism," Social History, No. 3 (October 1976): 297-304.

This proto-industry had a number of social repercussions in the peasant society in which it originated. The intrusion of proto-industry altered the operation of the peasant household. With the rise of manufacturing and production for market, the family was no longer a closed unit of production and consumption; rather it was enmeshed in a complex network of commerce. Not only were women and children an increasingly positive economic asset in this cottage industry, but children no longer needed to delay marrying until they inherited or acquired a farm. They could work at least part-time in industry and earn enough money to support themselves.

In the context of Red River, proto-industrialization emerged with the breakup of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, and the establishment of a new market for furs in the 1840s. Increasing metis involvement in this capitalistic fur trade, especially the emerging buffalo robe trade, took place within the context of the metis family economy and had significant repercussions on family, community, and class formation. It will be

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[7] Ibid., 296.

[8] L. A. Clarkson, Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?, Studies in Economic and Social History (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 9-10.

argued that involvement in this new "rural industry"[9] affected metis family life, fragmented metis communities along socio-economic lines, led to an abandonment of agriculture by a segment of the metis, and was an important impetus to out-migration from Red River.[10]

Buffalo robes had always been traded in small quantities as country produce to the fur trading companies and used for packing other furs and as winter blankets. Expansion of this trade in the Red River region occurred in the 1840s with the increased demand for these robes in Eastern Canada and the United States, and the establishment of an American trading post at Pembina. Buffalo robes, at the time, were used universally as blankets in buggies, wagons, and sleighs or sleds. They were also made into fur robe overcoats. In 1874 one could buy a buffalo-robe overcoat lined with flannel at a retail clothing store in St. Paul for ten dollars.[11] Buffalo robes were not the only item of metis manufacture. The metis had for years produced large quantities of pemmican which they used to sustain themselves in winter and traded to the fur trading companies. This aspect of metis manufacture and trade, however, has not been emphasized as the demand for pemmican was constant from the 1820s to the 1850s and decreasing thereafter. The real engine of economic growth for the metis in the period after the 1830s was the rising demand and increase in price for buffalo robes.[12]

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[9] As Irene Spry has written, the buffalo hunt was, in fact, the basis of the first great industry in Western Canada. "That it was carried on the open plains, not in a factory, did not make it any less an industry. Once the buffalo were killed, the carcass had to be butchered, the meat dried or made into pemmican, shaganappi and sinews processed, and the robes and hides prepared for use. All the functions of a modern packing plant and tannery were performed by the hunters and their wives and families, using traditional labor-intensive methods." Irene Spry, "The 'Private Adventurers' of Rupert's Land," in The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honor of Lewis H. Thomas, ed. John E. Foster, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983), p. 54.

[10] A study of the effect the buffalo-robe trade had on plains Indians, has noted that here too it caused a rupture of the 18th century relations of production. It initiated a period of unprecedented prosperity, it accentuated individual production at the expense of collective tendencies, and it changed the division of labour and productive relations between sexes. Allan M. Klein, "The Political Economy of Gender: A 19th Century Plains Indian Case Study," in The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women, ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (New York: University Press of America, 1983).

[11] Wayne Gard, The Great Buffalo Hunt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959), 43-58.

The re-establishment of a trading post at Pembina (seventy miles south of Red River) in American territory by Norman Kittson in 1844 had the effect of bringing the American market to the front door of the Red River Colony.[13] Not only did this post create an alternative market, but it became a source of supplies and capital that transformed the metis economy of the region and precipitated an outburst of trading in furs throughout the Red River district. An indication of the importance of this post was evident a year earlier when George Simpson, the chief administrator of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, had written the governors of the Company to the effect that, although the inhabitants were complaining of the absence of a market, he did not "know any peasantry so comfortable and independent in their circumstances."[14]

The responsiveness of the metis to this new economic opportunity had a number of causes. The Hudson's Bay Company provided employment for many male children of former employees, but it did not offer an outlet for the ambitious. Despite the increased use of the metis as seasonal labour, the Hudson's Bay Company was increasingly hiring its officer class from Britain.[15] In this situation fathers found it difficult to find their sons employment. The best alternative for able young men was to embark on a trading career outside the Company's monopoly. Also involved in the turn to the illicit fur trade in the 1840s was a generational conflict which reflected the growing gulf between Company officers and metis servants. Young metis involved in the clandestine trade of the 1840s openly scoffed at the rebukes of older principal settlers. When in 1845, James Bird (a former H.B.Co. Officer and presiding Magistrate of the General Court) invited Peter Garrioch to pay him a call and accept responsibility for the 4% on goods Garrioch had imported from the United States, Garrioch wrote sarcastically in his journal:

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[12] Among the robes and furs shipped to Pembina and St. Paul in the period from the 1840s to 1870 were other leather products such as embroidered moccasins and leather coats, horse gear, and other bead and quill work. See Ted J. Brasser, "In search of métis art, " in New Peoples. References to these items of manufacture and trade, however, are very scarce with no quantities or prices given.

[13] Alvin Charles Gluek, "The Struggle for the British Northwest: A Study in Canadian-American Relations," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1953), 27.

[14] Simpson to Governors, June 21, 1843 HBCA D4/62, fo. 30d-31.

> The old Coon will find that I am not quite so great an ass as he takes me to be. . . . Old man you have been young and now you are old, but I assure you that you will again become young, and old enough again after that, before your most humble servant will be so stupid and impertinent as to trouble you with a call. Your humble servant knows his place better than that. He does not like to insinuate himself into the affairs of big folk at all.[16]

Even Cuthbert Grant, formerly the leader of the metis of White Horse Plain and appointed "Warden of the Plains" by the Hudson's Bay Company, had by the 1840s lost much of his influence among the metis.[17] On seizing the goods and furs of several private traders, Grant, as Magistrate of the White Horse Plain Judicial District in 1846, earned the enmity of most of the younger metis. Peter Garrioch reported that had Chartrand, one of the metis whose goods were seized, shot Grant he would have been acquitted the next moment.[18]

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[15] John E. Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," 180-182. Carol M. Judd, "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Northern Department 1770-1870," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 17, No. 4 (1980).

[16] PAM, Peter Garrioch Journal, Part V, (typescript) "Home Journal 1845-47," March 28, 1845.

[17] NAC, Warre Papers, Vol. 14, 1845 Diary, 948-950.

A further stimulus to the transformation of the metis economy in the 1840s was the succession of bad crop years, which failed to produce even enough for subsistence. In the five-year period 1844 to 1848, only 1845 produced a harvest sufficient to feed the Colony. The wheat crop was a general failure in both 1846 and 1847,[19] producing widespread famine, and the hay crop was so poor in 1847 that most settlers were making arrangements to winter their cattle out.[20] By August of 1848, the Settlement was on the threshold of starvation.[21]

Faced with a limited market for grain and a succession of bad crop years, it was little wonder that a large number of metis abandoned agriculture and concentrated on the fur trade for which there was now an expanding market. Even without bad crop years, Simpson commented, "the want of market (for wheat) . . . has prevented any agriculturalist from expanding their farms and increasing their livestock beyond the requisite quantity to meet the demands of the Company and their own absolute wants."[22] By the late 1840s even the greatest proponents of agriculture, the ministers of the Church Missionary Society, realized that the land had "scarcely any value being so abundant, and the produce of land, which is at times thirty fold has no market, and therefore cannot be converted into money."[23]

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[18] PAM, Peter Garrioch Journal, Part V, January 6-21, 1846.

[19] CMS Records, Letter of Smithurst to Sec. Nov. 18, 1846, and Wm. Cockran to Sec. Aug 5, 1847; Incoming Correspondence, Letter Book IV, 196-197 and 213.

[20] PAM, MG1, D20, File 161 Donald Ross Papers, Alexander Ross to Donald, Aug 9, 1847.

[21] CMS Records, Letter of Rev. James to Sec. Aug. 2, 1848, Incoming Correspondence, Letter Book IV (Reel 5), 387.

[22] HBCA, D4/68, Report of 1847, 264.

Thus the lack of commitment to agriculture is one way of judging the metis response to new opportunies. Indeed, by the time the 1849 census was taken it was clear that some metis families were abandoning their farms completely. While the total area under cultivation increased in Red River from 3504 acres in 1835, to 6392 acres in 1849, some communities showed a decrease in cultivated acres despite the fact that their population had almost doubled. In St. Francois Xavier the average cultivated acreage per family had dropped from 6.12 acres in 1835 to 3.19 acres in 1849. Cultivated acreage per person during this time dropped from 1.17 acres to 0.58 acres. This was in contrast to St. Andrew's, which maintained its subsistence level of agriculture of about 1 cultivated acre per individual (see Table 3).

Thus, if the decline in cultivation can be seen as an indication of an increasing involvement in trading activities, it is clear that the response was much greater in St. Francois Xavier. The metis in St. Andrew's, to a much greater extent, continued the pattern of subsistence agriculture initiated in the 1830s. While there are a number of reasons for this difference, not the least of them would be the fact that the cultural antecedents of St. Francois Xavier metis were the Great Lakes metis who had once before acted as middlemen in the St. Lawrence based fur trade.[24] This undoubtedly gave them an added advantage in responding to new trading opportunities when they appeared in the 1840s. Another factor explaining why St. Andrew's metis were less likely to adapt to the new trading opportunities may have been the fact that St.

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[23] CMS Records, Bishop of Rupert's Land to Sec., Nov. 22, 1846, Incoming Correspondence, Letter Book IV (Reel 5), 582.

[24] Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis," Ethnohistory 25, No.1 (Winter 1978). The connection between the Great Lakes Metis and St. Francois Xavier is based on a cursory comparison of the family names in the St.Francois Xavier parish registers with those of the Mackinac Registers 1695-1821. These latter registers are found in Reuben Gold Thwaites ed. Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin XIV (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1898).

Andrew's contained more families headed by a European male.[25] Those metis families headed by a European male were older, had larger families, and generally cultivated about double the amount of those families headed by a metis male in both parishes (see Tables 3 & 4). The fact that British troops were stationed at Lower Fort Garry (near St. Andrew's) from 1846-48 also would have inflated the 1849 cultivation

TABLE 3
Population and Cultivation in Red River 1849

	ST. ANDREW'S	ST. F. XAVIER	RED RIVER
Total Population	1068 (19.8%)[26]	911 (16.9%)	5391
% Increase (1835)	95	81	48
No. Single Adults	10	4	----
No. of Families	187 (17.8%)	165 (15.7%)	1052
Av. Family Size	5.66	5.49	5.13
%metis(fam.heads)	68	82	----
Total Cult. Acres	1366 (21.3%)	527 (8.2%)	6392
% Increase (1835)	141	-11	82
Av. Cult./Family	7.3	3.19	6.1
Av. Cult./Person	1.28	0.58	1.19
Cult/Eur. F. Head	10.62	5.1	----
Cult/metis F. Head	5.2	2.6	----
No. Cult. 10+ ac.	58 (31%)	22 (13%)	----
No. Cult. 20+ ac.	14 (7%)	5 (3%)	----

Source: Red River Census, 1849

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[25] While almost all families in both parishes were metis, a number of the families in both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were headed by European or Euro-Canadian males. Throughout the period studied there were 16% more of these European male headed families in St. Andrew's than in St. Francois Xavier.

[26] Percentage of Red River totals.

figures of St. Andrew's because these troops would have created a short-lived market for agricultural products.[27]

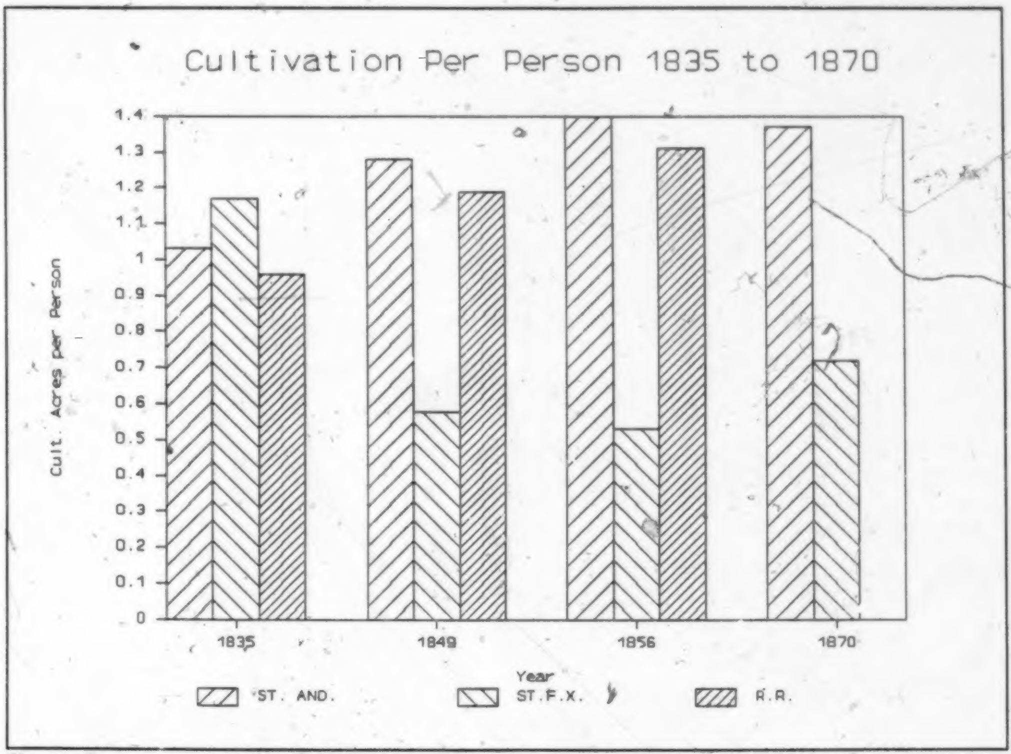

figure 3

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[27] Before 1856 the farmers of Red River also had a small market for horned cattle in the United States (principally to St. Peters and St. Paul). By 1856, however, the sale of livestock to the United States had ended. Poor harvests in Red River eliminated the surplus livestock in the Colony, and demand from the United States decreased with the increase of settlement there. Barry Kaye, "The Trade in Livestock between the Red River Settlement and the American Frontier, 1812-1870," Prairie Forum 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981): 163-181.

The connection between the new trading opportunities and the decline of agriculture was observed by the Nor'Wester in discussing the decline of sheep farming in the Settlement. Introduced in 1830, the number of sheep in the colony rose to a peak in 1846 at 4222, declining to 3096 in 1849, to 2245 in 1856, and even fewer by 1860. The reason for this decline, the Nor'Wester noted, had to do with the increase of dogs in the settlement, which in turn was related to the increase in plains trading. The dogs, of course, ravaged the sheep:

> About the year 1848 parties commenced their excursion out of the settlement to trade with the Indian, and were of course accompanied by dogs. As the traffic and the dogs increased the sheep diminished. They were attacked and destroyed by the dogs.[28]

Between 1849 and 1870 cultivated acreage in St. Francois Xavier rose marginally to an average of 3.99 acres per family and .7 acres per individual, no doubt reflecting the improved farming prospects in the 1850s. Even this small increase, however, is deceiving since most of the increase can be attributed to a few families in the parish. There were still only 18 families (5%) who cultivated 20 or more acres, with 6% of the familes accounting for 50% of the cultivation. Another reason for the increase in average cultivated acreage was that many who had abandoned agriculture had left the parish by 1870. In St. Andrew's the average cultivation per family and person remained at the subsistence levels they had been in 1849. Unlike St. Francois Xavier, cultivation was a little more evenly distributed among the population. By 1870 there were 49 families (15%) cultivating more than twenty acres; however, 9% of the families in St. Andrew's still accounted for 50% of the cultivation. Clearly by 1849 and continuing until 1870, the two communities of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were diverging economically. In order to understand these differences and the connection between the decrease in metis participation in agriculture, an increased geographic mobility, and social stratification among the Red River metis, it is necessary to take a closer look at the increased metis participation in the new fur trade.

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[28] "Sheep Farming in Red River," Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860.

TABLE 4
Population and Cultivation in St. Andrew's and St. F. Xavier 1856 and 1870

	ST. ANDREW'S			ST. F. XAVIER		
	1856	1870	(% +/-)	1856	1870	(% +/-)
Total Population	1207	1456	+21	1101	1857	+69
No. Single Adults	----	44		----	2	
No. of Families	214	287	+34	178	334	+88
Av. Family Size	5.64	4.91	-13	6.18	5.47	-12
% metis Fam. Head	----	75.1		----	91.2	
Total Cult. Acres	1646	2002	+22	582	1335	+129
Av. Cult per Family	7.7	6.97	-9	3.26	3.99	+22
Av. Cult per Person	1.4	1.37	-2	.53	0.72	+36
Cult/Eur. Fam. Head	----	10.35		----	18.82	
Cult/metis Fam. Head	----	8.8		----	3.8	
No. Cult 10+ acres	----	74		----	35	
No. Cult 20+ acres	----	49		----	18	

Source: Red River Nominal Census of 1870[29]
Red River Tabulated Census of 1856[30]

— The establishment of a competitive fur market at Pembina in 1844 precipitated an outburst of private trading in furs throughout the Red River district, as furs were smuggled across the border and goods and capital imported from St. Peters and St. Paul. An indication of the extent and expansion of this trade can be gleaned from the increase in the number of carts travelling annually to St. Paul. In 1844 only 6 carts are recorded as making the journey to St. Paul;[31] by 1855 400 carts,[32] by 1858, 800 carts,[33] and by 1869, 2500 carts were carrying furs and goods to St. Paul.[34] Fur sales in St. Paul, at the same time, rose from $1,400 in 1844 to $40,000 in 1853, to $182,491 in 1857, and an average of over $215,000 annually in the following eight years.[35] The majority of these furs shipped to St. Paul from Red River were buffalo robes,[36] and by the late 1850s and early 1860s St. Paul fur houses were sending "runners" to Red River to buy up buffalo robes in large quantities.[37] Norman Kittson, who had precipitated this new trade in the region by opening a post just south of the Canada/U.S.A. border at Pembina, was reported returning to Mendota in 1857 with over 4000 buffalo robes.[38] In 1862 the Settlement newspaper, The Nor'Wester, commented that, "the great business in this country is at present the trade in furs. . . . Farming, shop-keeping, and all other vocations whatsoever, dwindle to the merest nothing when compared, in point of profits, with this vast business."[39] In 1865 alone, close to

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[29] Since the 1870 census did not give cultivation figures these were abstracted from the surveyors returns of 1871-73. This census, unlike the earlier Red River Censuses, also listed each individual rather than adults and family groups. Family groupings, however, were easy to discern from the census returns.

[30] Since a complete copy of the nominal census for 1856 no longer exists, many of the calculations made for the other census were not possible.

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[31] Hattie Listenfeldt, "The Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River Trade," Collection of the State Historical Society of North Dakota IV (1913).

[32] HBCA, D4/75, George Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 29, 1855.

[33] CMS Records, Rev. Kirkby to the Secretaries, August 2, 1858, Incoming Correspondence, Letter Book VI (Reel 6), 368.

[34] George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1963), 37.

[35] Nor'Wester, January 31, 1866; "To Red River and Beyond," Harpers, (February, 1861): 309-310.

[36] Merrill G. Burlingame, "The Buffalo in Trade and Commerce," North Dakota Historical Quarterly 3, No. 4 (1926): 280. Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860, June 15, 1861, January 31, 1866.

[37] Nor'Wester, June 14, 1860.

[38] William John Peterson, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1968), 164.

[39] Nor'Wester, September 1, 1862.

25,000 robes had been shipped from Red River to St. Paul by Red River cart.[40]

The Hudson's Bay Company tried to check illicit trade as it had in the past with ever more stringent regulations, but to little avail.[41] Company officers, in fact, despaired of ever stopping this trade without forcible seizure of goods and the stationing of troops in the settlement.[42] With the arrival of troops in 1846 discontent in the colony subsided and the illicit trade diminished, but when the troops left in 1848, the trade rebounded stronger than ever. Discontent over the Company's policy then escalated, reaching a peak in 1848-49.

When John Ballenden, the Hudson's Bay Company's administrator in Red River, decided to stop the smuggling by seizures and arrests in 1849, the issue came to a head. The arrest and trial of Guillaume Sayer and three others had the effect of opening the trade to all metis. Though found guilty, Sayer was released because of the threat of violence from the metis massed in and around the court house. The event demonstrated that the Company could no longer enforce its monopoly.[43] With this, a new economic era opened for the metis because all the restraints and monetary disadvantages which had originated in the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly ceased to operate. With it came the development of an indigenous metis bourgeoisie along with new occupations and opportunities for the rest of the metis. Increasingly, the metis became involved in commodity production for market (furs, particularly buffalo robes) rather than for home consumption; their surplus production, no longer subject to the appropriation of the Hudson's Bay Company, was increasingly appropriated by merchant traders, many of whom were metis themselves.

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[40] Nor'Wester, January 31, 1866.

[41] They revised the conditions of land tenure making it a contravention of one's lease to engage in the fur trade, they put duties on goods imported from the U.S. (1844-45), and they tightened currency circulation (1844). See W. L. Morton, "Introduction," London Correspondence Inward, Eden Colvile 1849-1852, lxii-lxiii.

[42] HBCA D5/15, Christie to Simpson, December 31, 1845; HBCA D5/17, Christie to Simpson, April 21, 1846.

[43] Unlike the metis uprisings of the 1830s, this demonstration was no "peasant revolt." This 1849 revolt had a clearly stated ideology of free trade, and the metis had acted deliberately to gain their end. Emerging from the court house Sayer was greeted with the cries of "Le commerce est libre, le commerce est libre, vive la liberté".

Some indication of the nature of the interaction between merchant capital and the metis household production can be gleaned from the examples of Peter Garrioch and Norbert Welsh. Garrioch, the eldest son of William Garrioch, a retired employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Nancy Cook, was educated in the parish schools of Red River and was eventually appointed teacher in the Parish of St. Johns. Frustrated with his circumscribed position and the lack of opportunity in the Colony he left to find his fortune in 1838. By 1842, he was under contract to trade for the American Fur Company at the Souris River. With the increased market for furs in the 1840s, Garrioch also began to trade on his own account. Lacking the capital to outfit himself, he approached his uncle, James Sinclair, a prominent merchant in the Red River Settlement, and asked for an advance of goods. He received £130 worth of goods.[44] Using Red River as a base of operations, he then began making excursions to Lake Manitoba, Swan Lake and the Souris River in order to accompany the buffalo hunts with his cart loads of goods. At times he also equipped other metis to make trading trips for him, hiring labour as he needed it. The returns of these trips were either traded at Kittson's Post at Pembina or at St. Paul. While out on these trading missions, the family farm was tended by his brother.[45]

Norbert Welsh, trading twenty years later, followed much the same pattern. He began his trading career at age eighteen in 1862 by hiring himself out to Joseph

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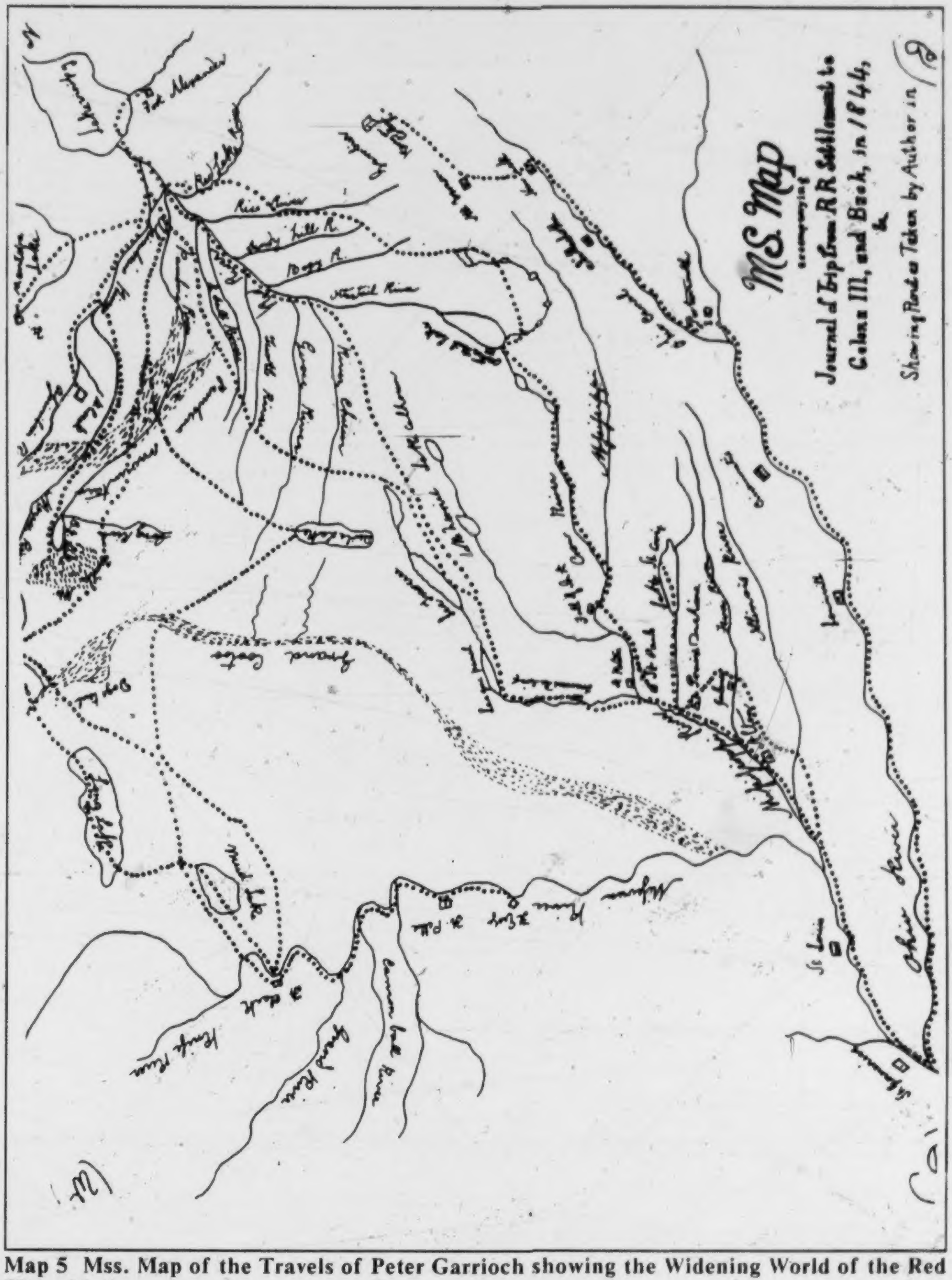
[44] PAM, Peter Garrioch Journals, Part III, (typescript) "Fur Trading on the Missouri," 163.

[45] PAM, Garrioch Journals, Part V, (typescript) "Home Journal 1845-47), 239-304.


MS. Map
accompanying
Journal of Trip from R.R. Settlement to
Galena Ill, and Back, in 1844, &c.
Showing Route as Taken by Author in
Fort Alexander
Red Lake River
Sandy Hill R.
Mississippi
Grand Coteau
Missouri River
St. Louis
Ohio River
Devils Lake
Knife River
Cannon ball River
Illinois River

Map 5 Mss. Map of the Travels of Peter Garrioch showing the Widening World of the Red River Metis

Mckay. This trading party consisted of Mckay and his wife and child, Mckay's brother-in-law and his wife, Norbert Welsh, 10 carts of goods, and fifteen horses. Wintering near the North Saskatchewan River the party sold trade goods (mostly whisky) to the Indians for buffalo robes, fox, beaver and other assorted furs.[46] A few years later Welsh decided to trade for himself and got an outfit worth 500 dollars on credit from Andrew Bannatyne, a prominent merchant in the Settlement. By this time Welsh was married to Cecilia Boyer,[47] the daughter of a plains trader, and wintered on the plains with his family and in-laws. This group, which included his uncle Charles Trottier, hunted and camped together, but traded alone. The women and wives were integral to these trading missions because they dressed the hides.[48] The returns of this trade could be fairly substantial. Louis Goulet recalled that his father accompanied hunting excursions as a trader bringing with him 10 to 30 wagons loaded with goods to be exchanged for products of the hunt.[49] By the 1850s, these traders and their runners ranged from the English River, to Cumberland, and to the Saskatchewan district. In 1863 William McTavish reported that Cuthbert Sinclair was heading for the Saskatchewan with over seventy carts.[50] Some idea of the monetary returns of this trade can be formed by the amounts paid to individuals for the portion of their furs sold at Fort Garry to the Hudson's Bay Company.[51] The remainder, including large numbers of marten and buffalo robes were conveyed to Pembina (see Table 5).

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[46] Mary Weeks, The Last Buffalo Hunter (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1945), 15-33.

[47] The utilitarian and kin-related benefits of an early marriage are illustrated in Welsh's description of his courtship and engagement; "One day before the brigade started for Fort Garry, I took a little ride in my dog-sled around the settlement. On my way I met a girl, the daughter of a trader. She was walking. I looked at her and thought to myself, 'By Jove, that's what I'm looking for! You'll be my wife.'. . . Then I told her that I had been looking for her for a long time, and asked her if she would consent to an engagement with me. She agreed. . . . what grand moccasins she made for me! I was sure that I had found the right girl!" Mary Weekes, The Last Buffalo Hunter, 54-55.

[48] Ibid., 66-90.

[49] Guillaume Charrette, Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet, translated by Ray Ellenwood (Winnipeg: Editions Bois Brûlés, 1976).

[50] PAM, Lane Correspondence Inward, McTavish to Lane, June 11, 1863.

TABLE 5
Amounts Paid to Traders for Furs Delivered to Fort Garry
1854 and 1856[52]

NAME	AMOUNT IN £ STERLING	YEAR
Norbert Delorme	127.12. 9	1854
Urbain Delorme	438. 4.1	1854
Urbain Delorme	782. 0. 0	1856
Alexis Breland	74. 8.11	1854
Cuthbert McGillis	261.12. 0	1854
Alexander McGillis	106. 2. 0	1854
William McGillis	353.13. 4	1854
William McGillis	540. 0. 0	1856
William McMillan	330.12. 3	1854
William McMillan	335. 0. 0	1856
Antoine Gingras	624. 0. 0	1856
John Dease	387. 0. 0	1856
George Racette	205. 0. 0	1856
Arthur Pruden	426. 0. 0	1856
Michel Chartrand	223. 0. 0	1856
Pierre Chartrand	188. 0. 0	1856

The expansion of this competitive trade in furs and buffalo robes initiated other commercial enterprises. The increased traffic with St. Paul, by way of cart train, created a competitive market for carts in the settlement. These carts were constructed by metis craftsmen, and by the 1860s they were selling for five to ten dollars a piece.[53] Because the wood along the Assiniboine was particularly well suited for making cart wheels, St. Francois Xavier became the center for cart manufacturing in the Settlement.[54] By the late 1850s, and through the 1860s, the Hudson's Bay Company was regularly instructing its post manager at St. Francois Xavier to buy up as many carts as possible as the Company needed them for their supply trains, and the competition for them was great among plains traders and hunters.[55] Additionally, as some merchants accumulated enough capital to buy their own fleet of carts and York boats, they became involved in contract freighting for the Hudson's Bay Company and other merchants, both to York Factory and St. Paul.[56]

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[51] By 1862 the H.B.C. was refusing to give money for anything but furs, resolving not to give money in trade for farm produce. The Nor'Wester commented that this would force even more settlers into the trade. Nor'Wester, September 1, 1862.

[52] The 1854 figures come from Simpson's Annual Report, June 30, 1854. HBCA, D4/74, 420. The 1856 figures come from Simpson's Letter to Governors and Committee June 26, 1856. HBCA, D4/76A, fo. 751. Some idea of how this would break down can be seen in the notes paid to William McGillis by the H.B.Co. for his furs in 1861. 564 buffalo robes at 8/. each; 12 buffalo skins at 5/. each; 128 Red foxes at 5/. each; 189 wolves at 3/6 each; 279 kitt foxes at 1/. each; 54 badger at 1/. each. PAM, Lane Papers, Wm. McTavish to Lane, May 21, 1861.

Participation in this new trade cut across communities and ethnic boundaries as both English and French metis responded to the opportunities. Andrew McDermott and James Sinclair had, since the 1840s, outfitted petty traders in Red River including such men as Henry Cook, Peter Garrioch, Peter Haydon, Charles Lawrence, Alexis Goulet, Dominique Ducharme, Pascal Breland, Alexander and William McGillis, Pierre Poitras, Cuthbert Sinclair, Urbain Delorme, William McMillan, John Dease, George Racette, Arthur Pruden, and Pierre and Michel Chartrand among others.[57] However, if participation cut across community and ethnic boundaries, some communities became more involved than others. Participation in these commercial activities and household industries, increasingly took those involved away from their crops and livestock. While wealthier traders might stay in the Settlement for most of the year, their younger sons, relatives, and hired labour increasingly spent the fall and winter trading and hunting on the plains. By the late 1840s, metis were increasingly forced to choose between peasant subsistence farming and the fur and robe trade. Of the two communities studied, St. Francois Xavier became much more involved in this trade and proto-industry. Most of the metis of St. Andrew's continued their involvement in peasant subsistence agriculture. Those metis from St. Andrew's who did enter the trade eventually left the parish and settled in Portage la Prairie in the period 1851-1854. Portage, being much closer to the plains, was a much more convenient base for plains traders.[58]

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[53] "To Red River and Beyond," Harpers Magazine, (February 1861), 587.

[54] Some of the best cart builders in the Settlement were the sons and grandsons of Francois Richard of St. Francois Xavier. Born in Quebec in 1770, Francois entered the fur trade eventually becoming an interpreter and cart builder for the Hudson's Bay Company. His son Francois (b. 1810) and grandson Francois (b. 1843) both became independent cart builders in St. Francois Xavier. Henri Létourneau, Henri Létourneau Raçonte (Winnipeg, 1978), 178-179.

[55] PAM, Lane Correspondence Inward, McTavish to Lane, October 20, 1857; McTavish to Lane February 27, 1858; McTavish to Lane, February 1, 1864; James R. Clare to Lane, April 25, 1865.

[56] The usual freighters to York Factory in the 1850s included: Donald Murray (3 boats); Henry Cook (3 boats); Thomas Thomas (3 boats); Thomas Sinclair (3 boats); Edward Mowat (3 boats); John Inkster (3 boats) along with other boat owners such as Thibault, Marion, Alexander Ross, James Sinclair, Bannerman, McDermott, and McBeath. HBCA, B235/a/15, Winnipeg Post Journal, July 26-29, 1852, fo. 11-11d; Aug. 9-10, 1852, fo. 13. H. Y. Hind, in the Settlement in 1857, noted, "besides being merchant or trader, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, some of them are freighters, conveying goods between Hudson's Bay and the Valley of Lake Winnipeg. They employ Indians and half breeds to row their boats of three to five tons burden." "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country," 562.

The most important component of the fur trade by the 1860s, and the greatest impetus to permanent emigration from Red River, was the metis involvement in the buffalo-robe trade. Participation in the buffalo-robe trade necessitated long absences from the Colony. Its intensive labour demands, and the imperative for hunters to winter near the buffalo herds as they drew ever further away from the Red River settlement, significantly altered the geographic mobility of those metis families who participated in the trade. Buffalo robes had increasingly become the prime trade item on the Upper Missouri in the late 1830s as the beaver became depleted in this area.[59] The re-organized fur trading company of Pierre Chouteau Jr. (1838), finding the robe trade a very profitable replacement for the greatly reduced beaver trade, expanded its operation on the Upper Missouri. Between 1839 and 1842 its capital investment on the upper river rose from $30,000 to $60,000, and its trading force from 90 to 130 men.[60] The establishment of Kittson's post at Pembina in 1844 was part of this expansion fed by the growing demand for buffalo robes in both the U.S. and Canada. Even the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been previously hesitant to trade for buffalo robes, because of their bulk and the difficulty of transporting them to York Factory, began to take note in the 1840s. Simpson writing to London in 1843 explained that:

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[57] Although no systematic listing of traders has been found, one can get some idea of those involved from various sources: PAM, William Lane Papers; PAM, Donald Ross Papers; PAM, Garrioch Journal; and various HBCA records.

[58] Among those metis families relocating to Portage were the Anderson families, the Whitfords, the Desmarais family, the Howse family, the Johnstons, and the Henry Erasmus family.

> Buffalo which have been exceedingly scarce for a great length of time in this district [Sask.] have during the three past years been numerous about Fort Pelly and Fort Ellice, enabling us to trade a large quantity of Buffalo robes, and instructions have been given this year to encourage that branch of trade to such an extent as our means of transport to the coast may admit.[61]

He went on to note that there was an increasing demand for the robes in both U.S. and Canada, and that the Indian and metis were paying more attention than usual to the preparation of skins and robes. By 1849 the Hudson's Bay Company was selling 10,000 to 12,000 robes a year on the Montreal market, and in 1865 shipped over

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[59] Erwin N. Thompson, Fort Union Trading Post: Fur Trade Empire on the Upper Missouri (Medora, N.D.: Theodore Roosevelt Nature and History Assoc., 1986), 34 & 47.

[60] Ibid., 56.

[61] HBCA, D4/62, Simpson to Governors and Committee June 12, 1843, fo. 11-14.

18,000 robes to Canada.[62]

Through the 1840s and early 1850s, most of the Red River metis secured both the meat they consumed and the robes they traded on the biannual buffalo hunts originating in the Settlement. As the demand for robes increased and as the herds appeared to move further from the Settlement, the practice of metis families wintering near the herds became increasingly common. As early as 1856 Governor Simpson was reporting the phenomenon of wintering villages in the Saskatchewan district:

> A large body of people last winter found their way to the neighborhood of Carlton and Fort Pitt where they employed themselves hunting and trading and collected large returns. They proceeded to their wintering grounds in the autumn to the number of 70 or 80 men with about 300 carts, well provided with goods by the Americans. These people congregated for convenience and safety in villages consisting of huts roughly constructed but sufficient to protect them from the weather and to afford storage room for their goods and furs.[63]

Metis merchant traders were always found in these wintering camps with large amounts of trade goods and alcohol. These Red River metis traders and hunters had penetrated well into the Saskatchewan district by 1856, offering stiff competition to the Hudson's Bay Company.[64]

The point to be stressed here is that the buffalo-robe trade not only opened commercial opportunites for a growing number of metis traders, but became a household industry for those metis families involved in it. In securing the buffalo robes and hides, there grew up a considerable organization within hunting groups with a clearly defined division of labour. Some engaged only in riding and shooting, others in skinning, while still others followed up to stretch and stake out the skins and robes.[65] There was, in fact, a good deal of intensive labour involved in producing a buffalo robe for market which had a significant effect on metis family formation (see Chapter VII). The metis family became, in effect, a household factory in the production of buffalo robes. While the price paid for buffalo robes on the plains only ranged from $2.50 to $3.00 in the 1860s,[66] this industry was profitable for the metis through the extensive utilization of family labour. This use of family labour increasingly made large families economically desirable.

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[62] HBCA, A14/41-50, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

[63] HBCA, D4/76A, Simpson to Governors and Committee June 26, 1856.

[64] Ibid. These metis traders and merchants were outfitted by Norman Kitson at Pembina, and included Alexander McGillis and family, Pascal Breland, Max. Genthon, the Delorme brothers, and Isidore Dumont. HBCA, D4/75, Simpson to Governors and Committee, June 25, 1855, fo. 397-97d. AASB, Fonds Fisher-Deschambault, J. G. Harriot to H. Fisher, 22 Nov. 1853. A. C. Gluek, "The Struggle for the British Northwest," 124.

The intensive labour required to prepare a buffalo robe for market ensured the position of metis women (wives and older daughters) as an integral part of the business of the buffalo-robe trade. The process the metis used in tanning buffalo robes was similar to that of the Indians. One woman could dress and tan one robe in three to four days, working steadily. These robes consisted of buffalo skins tanned on one side with hair on the other. According to various accounts the robe was stretched out on the ground and fastened down with wooden pegs or pins. Metis or Indian women would then scrape away every particle of flesh with a sharp tool. If the skin was not to be dressed until later, it was left to dry until it became quite hard. If it was to be dressed at once, the hide would be rubbed for at least a day with a mixture of liver, fat, and animal brains, to soften the skin. It was then left for two or three days (according to the season or temperature) until the grease had soaked in, and was then dried at a slow fire, all the while beating or rubbing it with a stone, until it became soft and pliable. As soon as the robe had been prepared in this manner and was quite dry, the women would begin the fatiguing process of rubbing it around a taut rope of horse hair or braided leather to make it smooth. When properly done the robe was as soft as a blanket and ready for market.[67]

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[65] Merrill Burlingame, "The Buffalo in Trade and Commerce," 287

[66] Bob Beal, "The Buffalo Robe Trade," Unpublished Mss., 1987; The price paid by the H.B.Co. for robes in the Red River Settlement varied from 11/. to 15/. sterling in the mid-1860s depending on the quality of the robe and the intensity of the competition. PAM Lane Papers, James R. Clare to Lane, April 20, 1865; McTavish to Lane, July 2, 1866.

The metis adaptation of this process, however, involved a quantum leap in the organization of labour. Labour, while still largely familial, was more specialized, and the metis were no longer simply involved in subsistence commodity production. Many metis were involved in the commercial end of the trade; they actively sought to increase their scale of operations, and were willing to utilize wage labour to do so. Moise Goulet, a metis trader, hired workers on quite a large scale to tan buffalo robes for him. As his son noted, "I suppose if he'd lived in our times he wouldn't have been called a businessman, more likely a vile capitalist."[68] Wintering camps or communities became virtual factories for processing buffalo robes. The trading and processing of buffalo robes became the principal economic reason for the substantial community that sprang up at Buffalo Lake in the early 1870s.[69]

With the growing importance of the robe trade in the 1860s and early 1870s, metis families in Red River were increasingly forced to choose between subsistence agriculture in the Colony, the hivernement existence which went with the trade, or tripping on the boats and carts originating in the Colony. By the 1860s the Red River buffalo hunt was on its last legs, with no more than 150 carts participating in 1866.[70] The herds were now too far away. To continue in the buffalo-robe or provisioning trade necessitated wintering near the herds. The general failure of the crops made the decision whether to follow the buffalo robe trade or to stay in the Red River Settlement easier for many. After fairly successful farming years in the 1850s, the years of drought in the 1860s brought declining crop yields, while the reappearance of the almost annual grasshopper infestations after 1864 made agricultural prospects bleak.[71] The infestations of grasshoppers in 1867 and 1868, combined with the failure of the plains hunt from Red River created a crisis in provisions. A relief committee was appointed in 1868 to distribute aid solicited from the U.S. and Canada, and many people in dread of scarcity left with their families to winter on the plains.[72] Louis Goulet, returning with his father to Red River after wintering on the plains from 1865-68, found the Settlement destitute and quickly made the decision to return to the plains.[73] These conditions combined with rising buffalo robe prices[74] led to a continued abandonment of agriculture, and eventually emigration from Red River for those families involved.

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[67] See J. N. B Hewitt (ed.), Journal of Rudolf Friederich Kurz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 261-262; E. Douglas Brand, The Hunting of the Buffalo (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1929), 51; C. E. Campbell, "Down Among the Red Men," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1926-1928, Vol. XVII (1928): 627.

[68] Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces, 50-51.

[69] R. F. Beal, J. E. Foster, and Louise Zuk, "The Métis Hivernement Settlement at Buffalo Lake, 1872-77," An Historical Report prepared forthe Department of Culture, Alberta Government: Historic Sites and Provincial Museums Division (April 1987).

In addition to the increasing geographic mobility of the metis, the economic transition of the 1840s and 1850s was dividing the Red River metis on occupational and economic lines. By the 1860s the Nor'Wester noted that the metis involved in the buffalo-robe trade resolved themselves into two classes:

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[70] PAM, "Memoirs of Louis Schmidt," 40 and 67.

[71] HBCA, A12/44, London Correspondence Inward, John McTavish to London, Aug. 27, 1864. Joseph James Hargrave, Red River, 219, 246-47, 336, 419. PAM, Lane Papers, McTavish to Lane, April 26, 1862, and McTavish to Clark, July 1, 1864. George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 49.

[72] HBCA, B239/c18, William Cowan to York Factory, Dec. 10, 1868, fo. 190-92; A12/45, London Correspondence Inward, McTavish to Wm. Smith, Aug. 11, 1868, fo. 88d-89.

[73] Guillaume Charrette, Vanishing Spaces, 62-65.

[74] These prices were abstracted from the Hudson's Bay Company ledgers for sales of buffalo robes in Montreal. See HBCA, A14, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada" Indices of Buffalo Robe Prices are listed in Appendix III.

> . . . the hunter, who follows the pursuits both of bartering for furs and hunting for them . . . and the "freeman" who confines himself almost exclusively to the trade of selling goods to the Indian, receiving their furs in payment - a profitable occupation as the many who have become independent thereby can fully testify.[75]

A newcomer to St. Francois Xavier from Quebec observed that the parish was divided on socio-economic and geographic lines. While all got along with each other, there were distinct lines and interests. Those metis who lived in the Pigeon Lake area on the western fringe of the parish were closely tied to the buffalo-trade as hunters and in the production of tanned robes. They held to traditional cultural practices and were known as the "Purs."

> Un bon nombre de familles métisses qui avaient conservé intactes les coutumes primitives de leur ancêtres maternals. Les Femmes portent châles et moccassins et parlent plutôt le Cri. A l'église elles ne prenaient jamais place dans les bancs avec les hommes, elles préféraient s'asseoir sur le plancher, dans les alleés, obsturant tout l'espace de sorte que M. Kavanagh, qui y'était habitué, avait toutes les peines du monde pour se frayer en passage et se rendre à l'autel.

By contrast those metis living on the eastern end of the parish, south of the Assiniboine River, were involved in the buffalo-robe trade as merchant traders, and were identified as living in "Petit Canada." These metis

> qui affectait d'imiter les Canadiens Français dans leur coutumes et leur vêtements. Les femmes portant chapeaux et chaussures françaises. C'est de la que leur est venue le nom du 'Petit Canada' que leur donnaient en dérision les gens de Pigeon Lake, pendant que ces derniers recevaient en revanche le nom de 'purs.'[76]

Other occupational groups within the Settlement included the subsistence farmers, and the growing permanent labour force employed on the boats and cart trains.

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[75] Nor'Wester, (May 14, 1860).

[76] J. Daignault, "Mes Souvenirs," Les Cloches de Saint Boniface (Fevrier, 1945): 28.

These divisions among the metis and their increased geographic mobility were part of a broader transition occurring within metis society in Red River. Increasing economic specialization in the buffalo-robe trade, and involvement in capitalist markets, produced a proto-industrialization of the metis family economy which affected both family size and age at marriage, and resulted in an increasing economic differentiation within metis society and emigration from Red River. By the time of Confederation with Canada in 1869-70, the metis of Red River could not be considered a single "national" identity. The various metis groups had different economies, occupations, cultural identities, and interests. These different interests were reflected in the Riel Resistance of 1869.

Chapter V

Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Riel Resistance of 1869-70

The transformation of the metis economy in the period 1840-1870 had a number of social and political repercussions. By the 1860s the metis of Red River were becoming increasingly differentiated on the basis of occupation, and economic interests. At times these new differences reinforced the older cultural and linguistic divisions in the Colony, but they also cut across ethnic boundaries. These economic and occupational divisions affected the response of the various metis groups to Confederation with Canada, and to the Riel Resistance of 1869-70. In this perspective, the resistance should not be seen primarily as a rising of a "new nation" of metis to secure their "corporate" rights, but an expression of "interest group" or "class" politics. The concept of metis "nationality" or "common front" did not have wide currency in Red River until after the arrival of troops from Canada in the summer of 1870.

Although a local study of two parishes is not the most useful perspective from which to study the Riel Resistance in all its complexity, it does offer a useful window on the conflict. The metis in the parish of St. Francois Xavier had adapted quickly to the new economic opportunities that had opened in the fur trade after the 1840s and the rising profitability of the buffalo-robe trade. As Lionel Dorge has commented,

> It is possible to use White Horse Plain District as an indicator by which the intensity of shifting forces in the Colony may be gauged. Ten years earlier it would be difficult to imagine anyone but a Métis being appointed to the presidency of the White Horse Plains District; yet in the winter of 1869-70 it was from this district that much of the Métis opposition to the Métis movement aimed at establishing a new and more

representative local governing authority would come.[1] By studying the metis of St. Francois Xavier, one can see an economic dimension to the resistance that has not been examined before. In particular, this perspective challenges a number of interpretations of the events of 1869-70.

For example, economic factors force us to reconsider the character of metis opposition to Riel. A number of historians have noted that Riel had some French-metis opponents, but this aspect has never been examined in any detail. George Stanley noted that metis such as Pascal Breland, William Dease, Joseph Genthon and William Hallet opposed Riel, but he dismissed this fact as unimportant. They were, he argued, either individuals comfortable with the status quo, or simply dupes of John Christian Schultz.[2] To have accorded importance to the opposition of prominent French-metis merchants to Riel would have challenged his thesis that the resistance was that of a primitive society resisting economic and social absorption by a more progressive civilization.

The interpretation that pays the least attention to the French-metis opposition to Riel is the one advanced by Frits Pannekoek. Concentrating on the local aspects of the conflict, Pannekoek saw the resistance to Confederation in 1869-70 as a racial and sectarian "civil war" with roots deep in Red River's past.[3] He argued that the English metis and the French metis were "implacable enemies" by the 1860s, and that the conflict that arose in Red River in 1869 was in essence a war between the English metis allied to the Canadians and Anglican clergy, on the one hand, and the French metis allied to the Catholic clergy in the colony, on the other. Crucial to Pannekoek's case are two arguments. The first posits that the English metis underwent an identity crisis in the 1850s. The re-crystallization of their identity through the Corbett affair[4] in the early 1860s, Pannekoek argues, gave the English metis a stronger Anglo-Saxon, anti-Catholic identity. From this point on the English metis saw their mission as liberating Red River from the "two tyrannies of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church of Rome and follow[ing] Corbett into a thoroughly Protestant and liberal British empire in which they, as Protestant Englishmen, would have the balance of power."[5] Thus when Riel and his followers took action to negotiate the terms of Red River's entry into Confederation the English metis joined with the Canadians in the Colony to oppose their common Catholic foes. The second argument in Pannekoek's case is the assertion that Riel had the support of not only the French-metis boatmen, but also the plains hunters and the more prosperous French-metis merchant farmers, thus turning the struggle into a racial war.[6]

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[1] Lionel Dorge, "The Métis and Canadien Councillors of Assiniboia," The Beaver 305, No. 1-3 (1974): 56.

[2] George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 56-61.

[3] Pannekoek's argument can be found in a number of works. Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," in The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W. L. Morton, eds. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), 72-90; "The Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-70," Canadian Historical Review 57 (1976): 133-149; "Some Comments on the Origins of the Riel Protest of 1869," Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series III, No. 34 (1977-78, 1978-79): 339-48.

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[4] In 1862 the Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett was charged and convicted of attempting to induce miscarriage by Maria Thomas, pregnant with his child. A number of English metis then forcibly released Corbett from jail. The issue of abortion seems to have been symptomatic of larger social conflicts. As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has pointed out at certain times "decisions surrounding abortion become the central drama of a culture, a play dealing with basic fissures in the social structure, one that raises fundamental issues concerning the distribution of power and the nature of the social order. . . . Societies perform these plays during periods when economic change has transformed personal and class relations, and when the distribution of power has been altered . . . ." Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 217-218. The Nor'Wester acknowledged that Corbett was clearly guilty and deserved some punishment, but objected to the severe sentence meted out to him. According to the newspaper, which covered the incident and trial thoroughly, the Hudson's Bay Company had used the pretext of the abortion charge to get rid of one of its enemies.

[5] Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett," 138-139.

[6] Without presenting any evidence Pannekoek insists that French Metis merchants feared the union with Canada which, with its inevitable railroads and tariffs, would spell the end to the profitable cart trains to St. Paul and the Saskatchewan country.

While Pannekoek's first argument is debatable,[7] his second is untenable when the metis opposition to Riel is examined in some detail. In particular the substantial French-metis opposition to Riel demonstrates that the conflict was more than a racial and religious conflict. In fact of the 78 metis clearly identified as having opposed Riel in 1869-70, over sixty per cent were French Metis (see Table 6).

Probably the most balanced interpretation of the resistance is the one found in Gerald Friesen's The Canadian Prairies.[8] Friesen acknowledges that the resistance was not a movement of the entire French-speaking community, let alone all of Red River, but he attributes almost all of the opposition to Riel to the Canadian annexationists and Indians in the Colony. Riel's supporters, on the other hand, included the Roman Catholic clergy, the Americans, and many French metis. In the middle were "some of the French and many of the English-speaking settlers -- metis, Scot, Orkney, Canadian -- " ready to move from side to side depending on the issue and circumstance.[9] Having sketched these fairly complex political divisions, however, Friesen falls back on W. L. Morton's line of reasoning that the metis were resisting to protect their "corporate" rights of a "new nation,"[10] that Riel had reached a consensus with all groups in the Colony by January of 1870,[11] and that the resistance had run its course by April of 1870.

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[7] The Corbett affair, which Pannekoek uses to illustrate the increasing tensions between English and French metis, was more a revolt against the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the divisions in the controversy seem to be based on social class not race. James Hunter, the Anglican missionary who had investigated the affair for the church, had also found Corbett to be guilty and deserving of the sentence. He noted, "there has been a wonderful sympathy with Mr. Corbett, but principally among the lower classes." CMS, CI/0, Incoming Correspondence, Reel 17, James Hunter to CMS, March 17, 1863. Also, one of the English metis leaders in this affair was William Hallet. Hallet was one of the acknowledged leaders of the buffalo hunt out of Red River, a position which would have entailed a good deal of cooperation with the French metis. Finally, Hallet's mother was a French metis, and both his brother Henry and sister Marie married French metis -- not the sort of kin connections one would expect of someone who regarded the French as implacable enemies.

[8] Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), see pages 114-128.

[9] Ibid., 119.

What all of these accounts fail to consider is the substantial French-metis opposition to Riel -- opposition that lasted well after February of 1870, even past the point when Friesen asserts the resistance is over. Certainly all metis wanted the best possible terms with Canada, but many of the French metis who opposed Riel were members of the Colony's commercial and governing elite who had little in common with the militant French-metis boatmen who made up the majority of Riel's forces. They, unlike the poorer boatmen, had some reason to fear a government led by Riel and saw potential economic benefits to union with Canada. These factors suggest that while Pannekoek may be correct in arguing that the 1869-70 Resistance has roots deep in Red River's past, these roots are more identifiable with social and economic antagonisms than racial animosity.

In order to understand the metis opposition that developed to the Riel Resistance, some of the causes for the resistance itself need to be examined. At the beginning of the conflict over whether Red River would be annexed to Canada without negotiations with the people of the North West, there was almost universal apprehension among the metis about their future rights. This discontent had been brewing since the Schultz jailbreak in 1868 when the Canadians in the Settlement took every opportunity to tell the metis that they would soon be driven from the country or kept as cart drivers in the vehicles of the new immigrants.[12] Then when surveyors arrived from Canada in the fall of 1869 and began resurveying river lots already occupied by the French metis, Riel and others forcibly stopped the survey and began the resistance which would ultimately result in Manitoba's entry into Confederation as a province. But if the resistance had begun with the French metis this did not rule out English-metis support. Thomas Bunn testified four years later, that if the English metis were not as militant at this point, it was because there was no surveying in their neighbourhood. "I have no doubt that if surveyors had gone there some action would have been taken by the English half-breeds." The English metis, like the French metis, feared that the newcomers would appropriate and claim the whole country, and Bunn claimed he himself shared this apprehension.[13] This was not, however, a concern for "corporate" group rights but a defense of their individual land rights. At this point even Pascal Breland, who later opposed Riel, supported some form of resistance.

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[10] Ibid., 118.

[11] Ibid., 123-124. D. N. Sprague, in a recent work on the metis, also argues that by late January and early February of 1870, a consensus of the various groups had been reached under the leadership of Riel. D. N. Sprague, Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885 (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1988), 47-48.

Given this general unease, the question then arises why a significant number of metis, including French metis, later opposed Riel in the resistance. The usual answer that the metis themselves stressed was that they were opposed to Riel's methods. In particular they were opposed to his illegal actions, particularly the seizure of private property.[14] McDougall's proclamation on November 30, 1869, announcing the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada and the commencement of his rule, also made a large impact on the metis who were to oppose Riel.[15] Riel's seizure of Fort Garry and the Hudson's Bay Company property in the fort likewise alienated some of Riel's former supporters. Reportedly it was after Riel seized the Hudson's Bay Company strongbox that Pierre Léveillé resolved to leave Riel's party.[16] At the time of the General Meeting at Fort Garry with Riel and Donald Smith, the English metis were sympathetic to Riel's cause but found his demands excessive.[17] Lastly Riel's imprisonment of his metis opponents also stirred up much discontent among the metis residing in Red River. In particular the imprisonment and harsh treatment of William Hallet raised opposition. As Alexander Begg noted in his journal at the time, "the keeping of prisoners so long is getting up a strong feeling against Riel, especially Hallet's being chained."[18]

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[12] Testimony of Archbishop Taché, April 17, 1874. "Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territories in 1869-70," p. 6. Canada. Journals of the House of Commons, 1874, Vol. VIII, Appendix (No. 6).

[13] Testimony of Thomas Bunn, May 4, 1874, "Report of the Select Committee," 114-115. Also see testimony of John H. McTavish, April 10, 1874.

[14] Gov. McTavish writing to Wm. McDougall on October 30, 1869 commented that there was even among the French Metis a considerable number of "well disposed" men opposed to the course Riel had taken. Quoted in E.H. Oliver, The Canadian Northwest: Its Early Development and Legislative Records, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914), 885.

This opposition to illegal actions and the more extreme methods of Riel and his followers also convinced metis winterers to stay on the plains and out of the conflict. Early in the winter of 1869-70, Riel had dispatched messengers to the winterers in the interior telling them not to sell their pemmican to the Hudson's Bay Company as the Provisional Government would buy all of it. He also urged them to come to Red River in spring prepared to fight.[19] In the spring of 1870 a mass meeting was held at Qu'

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[15] PAM, Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 75. This proclamation had an effect on the metis even though it was later found out that it did not have the force of law since Canada had not paid the £300,000 to complete the transfer.

[16] Alexander Begg dates this December 23, 1869. According to Begg even Riel's Adjutant-General, Ambroise Lépine, considered breaking with Riel over this incident. See W. L. Morton, ed., Alexander Begg's Red River Journal (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956), 238-239.

[17] Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 78-80. Earlier in December of 1869 Donald Ross noted in his diary, "the difficulty we English Delegates felt was the French wished us to do what was unlawful, and as law-abiding subjects we could not assent." Donald Ross Papers, PAM.

[18] W. L. Morton, ed., Alexander Begg's Red River Journal, 294.

[19] Ibid., 325.

Appelle Lake to decide the course of action the metis winterers would take towards the resistance. Most of the metis in this locality looked to Pascal Breland[20] and Solomon Hamelin for guidance whether or not to participate in the events happening in Red River. Both Breland and Hamelin, along with a large retinue of relatives, servants and followers had left Red River in the fall of 1869 to avoid any further entanglement in the resistance. Breland, according to Isaac Cowie, argued that it had been wrong for Canada to seek to impose rules over the country without first making terms with its people, but that those metis who had sided with Riel should now refrain from associating themselves with the murderers of Thomas Scott. Apparently Breland's speech brought most of the winterers in that region over to his point of view.

Breland continued his opposition to Riel when he returned to Red River with the plains hunters in the spring of 1870. He was furious to learn that his son Patrice, whom he had left in charge of his affairs in the Settlement, had been coerced into cooperating with Riel. Thus when Riel called a mass meeting of the plains metis at St. Francois Xavier to try to convince them to join the resistance, Breland used all of his influence against Riel.[21] From the reports of this meeting it is clear that the resistance was not over, as Friesen has suggested. Although the Manitoba Act had been passed, it was not at all clear what would happen to the Provisional government, and what Riel's response would be to the troops dispatched from Canada. Clearly if Riel wanted to keep his options open, he had to convince the plains hunters and tripmen to stay in the colony to act as his army.[22] It was to this end that the mass meeting had been called at St. Francois Xavier. At this meeting Breland and Riel went head to head in trying to win support from the plains metis. The metis were said to have swung first one way supporting Riel then the other to Breland. Breland painted Riel's resistance as a sin, and commented that the thefts and confiscations made him ashamed. Breland's arguments seemingly again had a great effect on the metis of St. Francois Xavier, and large numbers were soon again leaving the settlement for the plains.[23] F. X. Kavanagh, the parish priest of St. Francois Xavier, reported in May of 1870 that the winterers from his parish were anxious to leave the settlement as soon as possible, and seemed in no way pre-occupied with the future of the resistance. No one he said speaks of politics.[24] Thus it was not Riel who simply permitted the dispersion of his troops,[25] but the determined opposition to Riel right up to the summer of 1870 that deprived him of any protection, authority, or even support[26] when Wolseley's troops did arrive on August 24, 1870.

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[20] Known as "Le Roi des Traiteurs", Breland was born on June 15, 1811 in the Saskatchewan valley. He was the son of Pierre Joseph du Boishué dit Berland [sic] (a canadien) and Louise Belly (a metis). By 1829-30 the family had moved to St. Francois Xavier. In 1836 Pascal married Cuthbert Grant's daughter Marie, and became at the death of Grant, the heir to his influence among the Metis. In the 1840s, Breland had become involved in the free trade movement, and by the 1860s was a member of the Council of Assiniboia, and one of the wealthiest metis traders in the Colony.

[21] Report of Colin Inkster on metis activities, published in the Toronto Telegram, July 2, 1872. Reprinted in George T. Denison, Reminiscences of the Red River Rebellion of 1869.

Breland's actions suggest an economic reason for metis opposition to Riel. Pascal Breland, along with Solomon Hamelin, Joseph Hamelin, William Dease, William Hallet, William Bird, James Sanderson, James Mckay, Antoine Gingras, William Gaddy, Moise

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[22] Riel later considered opposition to the Manitoba Act, and resistance to the incoming troops because no amnesty had been granted, but by this time he had no troops left in the colony. George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 153.

[23] This account of Breland's role in opposing Riel has been gleaned from the Report of Colin Inkster on metis Activities; Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867-1874 on the Great Buffalo Plains (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 390-391, 405; F.N. Schrive, "Charles Mair: A document on the Red River Rebellion," Canadian Historical Review (1959): 218-226.

[24] AASB, Fonds Taché, T7517-7518, F.X. Kavanagh to Taché, 28 Mai 1870.

[25] Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, 127.

[26] One of the Americans in the Colony noted that by July 9, Riel was played out and had no friends. Quoted in George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 153-54.

Goulet and Louis Larocque, were all metis plains traders who opposed Riel (see Table 6).

TABLE 6
List of metis Known to have Opposed Riel

NAME	PARISH	OCCUPATION[27]
*Adams, Robert	High Bluff	Farmer
*Bird, William G.	Portage	Trader
Bird, Frederick A.	Portage	Merchant
Breland, Pascal	St. Francois Xavier	Trader-Farmer
Caplette, Dennis	St. Charles	
*Charette, Baptiste	St. Norbert	Farmer
Charette, Daniel	St. Norbert	Farmer
Charette, Joseph	St. Norbert	Farmer
Charette, J.B.	St. Norbert	Farmer
Charette, Francois	St. Norbert	Farmer
Cook, Matthew	Poplar Point	Trader
Dauphinay, Baptiste	St. Norbert	Farmer
*Dease, William	St Norbert-St.Joseph	Merchant-farmer
Dease, William (jr)	St. Norbert	Farmer-trader
Drever, William (jr)	Winnipeg	Merchant
Fiddler, Alex	St. James	Carpenter
*Gaddy, William	Portage	Hunter-Trader
Garrioch, George	Portage	Farmer
Genthon, Charles	St. Boniface	Farmer
Genthon, Eli	St. Norbert	Farmer
Genthon, Andre		
Genthon, Joseph	St. Boniface	Farmer
Gingras, Antoine	Red River-St. Joseph	Merchant-Trader
Goselin, Francois	St. Norbert	Farmer
Goulet, Baptiste		
Goulet, Roger	St. Boniface	Farmer-surveyor
Goulet, Moise	St. Norbert	Trader

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[27] The designation of occupation here is not highly reliable. The "List of of those Making Claims as a result of the Insurrection of Red River," in the Sessional Papers of 1872 designated almost all opponents as farmers despite the fact that there were obvious cases where the persons listed could more accurately be identified as merchants, traders, hunters, or freighters. Where possible this listing of occupation has been supplemented with information from other sources. These sources included including Parish Registers; Surveyor Registers; Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers. Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet. Memoirs of Louis Schmidt. W.L. Morton, ed., Alexander Begg's Red River Journal. George F. G. Stanley, ed., Collected Writings of Louis Riel. George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel. Marcel Giraud, The Canadian Métis.

NAME	PARISH	OCCUPATION
Grant, John	St. Charles	Merchant
*Hallet, John	St. James	Farmer
*Hallet, William	St. James	Farmer-trader
Hamelin, Solomon	St. Vital	Trader
*Hamelin, Joseph	St. Norbert	Merchant-Trader
Harrison, Thomas	Ste. Anne	
Jeauvienu, Solomon		
Jolibois, Baptiste	St. Norbert	Farmer
*Klyne, George	Ste. Agathe	Restaurateur
Lamirande, Alexis	St. Norbert	Farmer
Larocque, Louis	Ste. Agathe	Trader
*Lafournaise, G.	St. Norbert	Farmer
Lacerte, Louis	St. Norbert	Farmer
Lacerte, L. (jr)	St. Norbert	Farmer
Larence, -----		
Léveillé, Pierre	St. Francois Xavier	Farmer-trader
Marion, Edward	St. Norbert	Farmer
Marion, Narcisse	Winnipeg	Merchant-blksmith
Marchand, Goodwin	St. Norbert	Farmer
Mckay, Angus	St. James	Trader-freighter
*Mckay, George	Poplar Point	Farmer
McKay, James	St. James	Trader-freighter
*McDonald, Charles	Portage	Farmer
*Monkman, Joseph	St. Peters	Guide-freighter
*Morrison, John	Headingly	Farmer
Mowat, Andrew	St. Andrew's	Merchant-trader
Nolin, Augustin	Ste. Anne-Oak Point	Farmer
Noiin, Charles	Ste. Anne-Oak Point	Farmer
Nolin, Francois	Ste. Anne-Oak Point	Farmer
Nolin, Norbert	Ste. Anne-Oak Point	Farmer
Parisien, Laventure	St. Norbert	Farmer
Parisien, Pascal	St. Norbert	Farmer
Paquin (Pocha), Jos.	High Bluff	Farmer-hunter
Paquin (Pocha), Jos (jr)	High Bluff	Farmer-hunter
Paquin (Pocha), William	High Bluff	Farmer-hunter
Paquin (Pocha), Charles	High Bluff	Farmer-hunter
Paquin (Pocha), Gilbert	High Bluff	Farmer-hunter
Paquin (Pocha), George	High Bluff	Farmer-hunter
*Sanderson, James	High Bluff	Trader-farmer
*Sanderson, George	High Bluff	Trader
*Setter, John James	Portage	
Swain, Charles	Winnipeg-St. F.X.	Carpenter
Savoyard, Joseph		
*Tait, David	Poplar Point	Farmer-freighter
*Taylor, Alex	Poplar Point	Farmer
*Taylor, David	Poplar Point	Farmer
*Taylor, David (jr)	Poplar Point	Farmer
*Taylor, Herbert	Poplar Point	Farmer

NAME	PARISH	OCCUPATION
*Taylor, John	Headingly	Farmer
Thibault, Louis		
Venne, Solomon	St. Norbert	Farmer

* imprisoned by Riel's forces[28]

It is self-evident why wealthy metis merchants and traders such as Pascal Breland would look askance at theft and confiscations of property or any disruption of the hunting and trading of furs and buffalo robes, but there are also indications that their opposition to Riel stemmed from additional economic considerations. While the price of buffalo robes in the Red River Settlement ranged around four to five dollars a robe in the mid to late 1860s, the price of the same robes in Montreal was almost double this figure (see Appendix C). As a result a number of larger traders in the Settlement had tried to ship their robes directly to Montreal and sell them on the market there. Poor mercantile connections, however, had lost them considerable amounts of money in the transactions. By 1868 William McTavish was noting that the metis traders in Red River had raised the prices they were offering for buffalo robes in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company. McTavish speculated that the reason for this increased competition was that the traders had learned the high price the Hudson's Bay Company had received for its robes in Montreal last autumn, and were about to try that market again.[29] It is probable then, that prominent metis traders such as Pascal Breland would have welcomed political union with Canada on equitable terms as a means of improving their business, credit, and mercantile contacts in Montreal. William McTavish noted that "the want of capital is at present the greatest hindrance to the extension of the Free Trader's operations and contains them to the neighbouring districts from whence they can get their returns early to market."[30] In fact, a significant number of metis had agitated for union with Canada since the 1850s. It was only the actions of Schultz in 1868-69 and Canada's disregard of the inhabitants of Red River that had raised doubts among the metis about Canadian intentions.[31]

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[28] The sources for this list of metis known to have opposed Riel are: Dr. Lynch's "list of Prisoners in Fort Garry confined by Riel and Associates December 1869," dated February 21 1870. List of Prisoners entered in the diary of Alexander Begg, December 7 & 14, 1869. Charles Mair's list of "Prisoners released upon demand made by forces under the Command of Major Boulton," published in the Toronto Telegraph, April 6, 1870. List of those taken Prisoner on February 17, 1870 as published in The New Nation, February 18, 1870. "Name of Prisoners taken in Captain Boulton's Party," listed in Alexander Begg's Journal, February 18, 1870. List of "Loyal" Half-Breeds published in a letter from "Spectator" in the Daily Telegraph, July 15, 1870. List of "Loyal" Halfbreeds published in a letter in the Weekly Manitoban, May 20, 1871. Manitoban, December 30, 1871. "List of those Making Claims as a Result of the Insurrection of Red River," Canada. Sessional Papers, No. 19, 1872. Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet.

The other economic consideration which must have influenced the metis traders' opposition to Riel, was Riel's vehement opposition to trading liquor. As one study of the buffalo-robe trade has noted, "the whisky trade was actually the robe trade, liquor being merely the device and robes the object."[32] Obviously those traders dependent on the buffalo-robe trade would have interests in opposing Riel and the prospect of Riel becoming the pre-eminent politician in Red River. As Louis Goulet, whose father was a prominent plains trader at the time of the Resistance, commented, "I'd never liked Riel, my father had opposed him during the Red River troubles in 1870. I myself had wrangled with him more than once over trading liquor. He was dead against it."[33]

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[29] HBCA, A12/45, fo. 31d. London Inward Correspondence, Wm. McTavish to W. Smith (London), April 7, 1868.

[30] HBCA, A12/45, London Inward Correspondence, Wm. McTavish to W. Smith, Fort Garry, 7 April 1868, fo. 31d.

[31] The campaign by William Kennedy, James Ross, and others to find support for Canadian annexation in 1857 found a good deal of support among the French metis especially in St. Francois Xavier. This campaign, ironically, was not as well accepted by either the Scots or English metis at this early date. See Marcel Giraud, The Canadian Métis, Vol. II, 259.

[32] R. F. Beal, J. E. Foster, and Louise Zuk, The Métis Hivernant Settlement at Buffalo Lake, 1872-1877, 82. Norbert Welsh's memoirs of his life on the plains titles one of his chapters "Alcohol -- The Staff of Trade." See Mary Weekes, The Last Buffalo Hunter, 43-54.

These economic motives for opposing Riel were reinforced by kin connections.[34] When Pascal Breland left the settlement in the fall of 1869, both to avoid any further involvement in the Riel Resistance and to oversee his trading activities on the plains, he took his large extended family and numerous employees with him. Isaac Cowie, who observed his winter camp in the Qu' Appelle region in the winter of 1869-70, commented that it included a large number of relatives and followers -- hunters, traders and their families. In the center of this patriarchal compound stood a large house for Pascal and his family.[35] An examination of Breland's family connections reveals that he was related through the marriage of his children to some of the more significant metis merchants opposed to Riel (see figure 4). In addition many of these same wealthy metis traders who opposed Riel were on the Council of Assiniboia. And as Lionel Dorge has pointed out, these councillors used their positions on council to appoint themselves or relatives to patronage positions.[36]

> Council itself seemed unable to look beyond its own membership and allies when making new appointments and missed the opportunity to inject new blood into its administration and placate, if only momentarily, the impatient rumbling from those standing in the wings awaiting a cue to step forward.[37]

As such, Riel's and his followers' rejection of the metis leadership on the Council of

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[33] Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet, 113.

[34] The family and kin connections of Riel and his supporters is examined in Robert Gosman, "The Riel and Lagimodière Families in Métis Society, 1840-1860," Manuscript Report No. 171 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1975 and 1977).

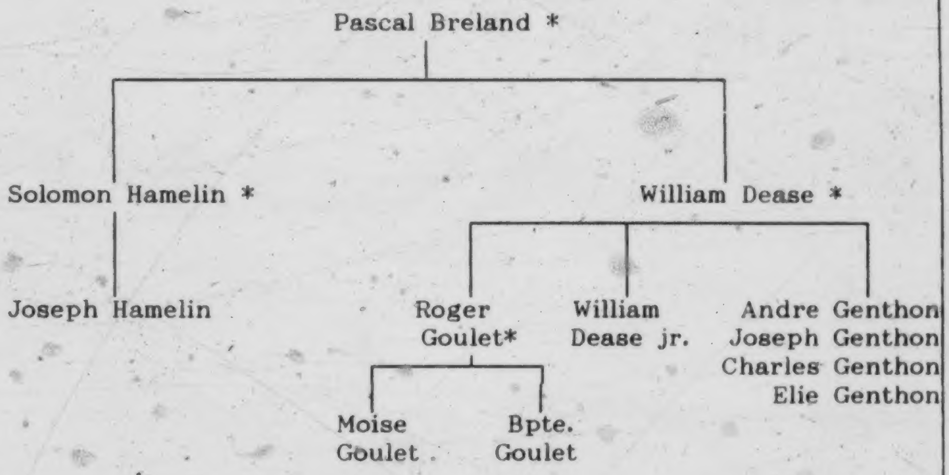
[35] Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 390-91.

[36] These patronage positions included various superintendents of public works, road inspectors, collectors of customs for various districts, and magistrates and other positions on the districts courts.

[37] Lionel Dorge, "The Métis and Canadien Councillors of Assiniboia," The Beaver, No. 3 (Winter 1974): 53-56.

Figure 4

Family Ties between Opponents of Riel


Pascal Breland *
Solomon Hamelin *
William Dease *
Joseph Hamelin
Roger Goulet*
William Dease jr.
Andre Genthon
Joseph Genthon
Charles Genthon
Elie Genthon
Moise Goulet
Bpte. Goulet

Only known opponents of Riel are shown on the chart for the sake of clarity. Because of this all persons listed are male despite the fact that women are often the key links. For example the relationship between Breland and Dease was through Breland's son Patrice who married Helen Dease. Helen Dease was the daughter of John Dease, the brother of William Dease. William Dease by turn was related to Roger Goulet through his daughter Elise who married Maxime Goulet the Brother of Roger. William Dease's Wife Marguerite Genthon was the sister to Andre, Joseph, Charles and Elie. Pascal Breland's kinship ties to Solomon Hamelin were through his daughter Clemence who married Solomon's son Firmin.

* Member of the Council of Assiniboia

Assiniboia, and their hostility to Riel, could be seen as a generational conflict. Riel was only 25 himself, Louis Schmidt, his boyhood friend, was not much older, and most of his closest associates were in their early thirties.[38] When Riel returned to the Red River Settlement in 1868, both he and Schmidt were young men looking for a career or vocation. Just before the outbreak of troubles Schmidt bought some carts to do some freighting, and Riel himself wondered if he should go to St. Paul to find some kind of employment. There seemed nothing for him to do in Red River.[39]

If there were economic motives for plains traders to oppose Riel, there were also economic motives for those metis who supported Riel. While Riel had the support of some prosperous metis merchants and farmers, most observers have noted that the bulk of Riel's supporters, in particular his army, were composed of the poorer metis who worked on the annual boat brigades. Walter Traill noted that "nearly all those engaged in the rebellion are the crews of the Portage La Loche boats which are engaged to take the Outfit for the Mackenzie River district."[40] In St. Francois Xavier, Riel had the support of two prosperous metis, Pierre Poitras and Francois Dauphinais,[41] but his supporters here were characterized more by men like Toussaint Lucier[42], Xavier Pagée, and Paul Paul. These were men who had few horses or oxen and were probably tripmen.[43] In addition to his Provisional Government, Riel had organized a Military Council composed of the captains of the different brigades. The Council was headed by Ambroise Lepine, who went by the title of Adjutant General.[44] It is estimated that by November of 1869, Riel had a muster call of over 400 metis.[45] It does not seem coincidental that the resistance began in October and November, a time of year when the freighting season was just ending, and when there were, accordingly, hundreds of recently released men available.

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[38] Ambroise Lepine, the Adjutant-General was thirty, John Bruce was 33, Francois Dauphinais twenty-seven, Pierre Poitras thirty-three. These men, in addition to a Beauchemin who has not been identified, were the earliest and closest associates of Riel and who were loyal to Riel throughout the resistance. With the exception of Lepine, these were the men who met with Riel at the Court House in early October of 1869 to set up the organization for the resistance. Testimony of John Bruce at the trial of Ambroise Lepine, and reported in the Free Press in October of 1873. D. N. Sprague has suggested that the leaders of the metis were generally in their forties and headed large families, but as far as Riel and his closest associates are concerned this was not the case. D. N. Sprague, Canada and the Métis, 36.

[39] George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 53.

[40] PAM, W. J. Traill Correspondence, W.J. Traill to his mother, January 15, 1870. See also George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 61-67. Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 71-74.

[41] The Statistical Reports of the Red River Relief Committee in 1868 reported that Poitras owned 14 horses, 13 oxen and had harvested 55 bu. of wheat in 1867, the last year of decent crops before the grasshoppers came. Dauphinais had 7 horses and 9 oxen and harvested 120 bu. in 1867.

Both the boat brigades to York Factory and Portage La Loche recruited metis from the Red River Settlement. Marcel Giraud has estimated that by 1857 the Hudson's Bay Company was using ninety boats and 700 men for their various boat brigades and that they recruited most of these men from among the metis of the Red River Settlement.[46] These boatmen or tripmen were a very volatile group with few loyalties to the Hudson's Bay Company. Since the union of the fur trading companies in 1821, the increasing stratification in the ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company servants and the fewer opportunities of rising through the ranks had led to increasing dissatisfaction among the metis labourers.[47] By the 1850s when the metis dominated the manpower of the Hudson's Bay Company transport system out of Red River, labour mutinies were becoming commonplace. The causes of these mutinies ranged from the lack of proper food, the danger of being icebound, the back-breaking labour, and discontent over hiring practices.[48] These mutinies consisted of the refusal of crews to complete the required voyage. Having delivered their goods at Portage La Loche, the brigade were obligated to bring furs back to York Factory. Mutinies or desertions would usually occur at Norway House with the metis refusing to carry the furs further up to the Bay. This was usually followed up by returning to Red River with empty boats. As a result furs were often stranded at Norway House for an extra season.

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[42] Lucier was one of the captains of Riel's army and was described by Louis Schmidt as a giant and the strongest man in Red River. Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 74.

[43] In 1867 Lucier had 1 horse and 3 oxen and harvested 110 bu.; Pagée had 1 horse and 3 oxen and harvested 40 bu.; Paul Paul had no horse and 2 oxen and harvested no wheat. For some comparison to men who opposed Riel -- Solomon Hamelin had 15 horses and 7 oxen, while Pascal Breland who was not listed in the 1867 returns, had 22 horses, 7 oxen and 12 carts when the 1849 census was taken.

[44] Ambroise Lepine was born at St. Boniface on May 18, 1840 to J.B. Lepine a French-Canadian buffalo hunter and Julie Henry a Saskatchewan metis. He was educated at St. Boniface College and married Cecile Marion, the daughter of the metis patriarch Narcisse Marion. It is interesting to note that his father-in-law was not a supporter of Riel. It is not known if Lepine was a tripman but he was a trapper and had a reputation as a good buffalo hunter. At the time of the Riel outbreak he was on the trail around Fort Pitt suggesting he was doing some freighting work. He only joined Riel on October 31, 1869. Ambroise-Didyme Lépine, Manitoba Historic Resources Branch Pamphlet, 1985. Louis Schmidt noted that Lepine's stature among the metis soldiers was based on his extraordinary muscular strength and cool demeanour. Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 74.

[45] George F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, 67.

By 1866 the whole La Loche brigade was in disorder.[49] After this time a season never passed without a rebellion of some sort.[50] Tripmen were almost impossible to discipline as the practice of advancing wages for the trip well before the spring departure gave the Company little power in relations with them. Because the men who made up the brigades were often not able to get through the winter unaided, part of their wages was paid in advance on signing up for the next season.[51] These were the type of men who on completion of their fall trip would be looking for excitement, and who for the promise of provisions through the winter could be counted on to act as Riel's soldiers. With their complaints against the Hudson's Bay Company they would also have no compunction about the confiscations of Hudson's Bay Company property. Riel's action of seizing the Company's supplies and provisions in Fort Garry was thus an absolute necessity to maintain the loyalty of these metis labourers.

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[46] Marcel Giraud, The Canadian Métis, Vol. II, 278

[47] Carol M. Judd, "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14, No. 4 (1980): 305.

[48] Ibid.; There is also some evidence that wages were being reduced. Compare wages listed in Minutes of Council 1821-31 (London: Hudson Bay Record Society), 305, and those listed in the Letters of McTavish to Lane, Nov. 5, 11, 1857, and Fortescue to Lane, October 29, 1858. Lane Papers, PAM. For specific instances of mutinies and labour problems see: HBCA, B235/a/15, fo. 34 & 38, Winnipeg Post Journal, August 6, 1853, September 19, 1853; HBCA, A12/44, fo. 67-67d. London Correspondence Inward, McTavish to Thomas Fraser, September 19,1865, McTavish to Thomas Fraser, December 12, 1865; McTavish to Lane, April 9, 21, May 4, 10, 1958, Lane Papers PAM.

[49] J. J. Hargrave, Red River, 160-168.

[50] Isaac Cowie, Company of Adventurers, 138.

Finally these metis tripmen were also the least likely to have official title to their river lots (registered in the Hudson's Bay Company Land Register), and consequently had the most to lose if metis land rights were not recognized by Canada. D. N. Sprague has gone as far as to argue that the resistance to the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada was a drive by the unofficial owners to secure recognition of their property rights.[52] In 1869 the Upper Fort Garry clerk recorded approximately one hundred and fifty individual metis who were in receipt of cash and supplies that Riel had confiscated from the Company. Most of these individuals were at the Upper Fort from the time of its seizure its seizure in the winter of 1869 to the spring of 1870. In comparing this list with the statistical returns of the 1868 Executive Relief Committee, it was found that none of these 150 metis were men of substantial property or affluence.[53]

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[51] Hargrave, Red River, 165-66.

[52] Sprague and Mailhot note that most of those Metis that opposed Riel had their river lots registered in the HBC Land Register. P. R. Mailhot and D. N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Métis, 1870-85," Canadian Ethnic Studies XVII, 2 (1985): 2.

[53] See Frits Pannekoek, "Some Comments on the Origins of the Riel Protest," 45. The list is found in HBCA, B235/d/228, fos. 54-64.

This is not to suggest that the Resistance should be understood purely as an economic conflict. It was not. It is quite clear that there were other factors at work in the this complex political event. Some plains traders did support Riel, and members of the same family could take opposite sides in the conflict.[54] A number of individuals crossed sides in the conflict more than once. A perfect example of this type of vacillating behaviour was that of Pierre Léveillé from St. Francois Xavier. At the beginning of the Resistance, Léveillé had been part of the Riel camp. Riel's confiscation of Hudson's Bay Company property, however, soon alienated Léveillé who broke ranks with Riel. He was convinced to rejoin the resistance only after Riel promised to return the Hudson's Bay Company cash box "as he had taken it".[55] By the time Donald Smith arrived in the settlement in January of 1870, Léveillé had another change of heart believing Smith's credentials from Ottawa to be legitimate and that Smith should be heard. Léveillé along with John Grant, and Angus McKay accompanied Richard Hardisty to Pembina to retrieve Smith's credentials. When Riel tried to intercept the party and take the documents, Léveillé pointed a gun at Riel's head and threatened to shoot if he did not desist.[56] After hearing Smith at the General Meeting of January 19-20, however, Léveillé again changed sides feeling that Smith and Canada had not granted the metis their just rights.[57]

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[54] Pierre Poitras from St. Francois Xavier was one trader who supported Riel. Elzéar Goulet, one of Riel's soldiers and by some accounts second in command of the Metis military forces, was the brother of Roger Goulet and the nephew of Moise Goulet, both of whom opposed Riel. Louis Schmidt Memoirs. J. A. Jackson, "Elzéar Goulet," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 329-330.

[55] W. L. Morton, ed. Alexander Begg's Journal, 240.

[56] Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 78-79.

[57] See letter of Léveillé printed in the New Nation, May 27, 1870.

The economic dimensions of this conflict have been emphasized here to demonstrate that the resistance was not a racial civil war; that there were economic, social and kin considerations that cut across racial and ethnic lines. These economic dimensions also suggest that while there may have been a consensus in the Colony to negotiate with Canada by January of 1870, there was no consensus on the leadership of Riel, or that the resistance was a rising of the "new nation"[58] to secure their corporate rights.

The concept of nationalism, conjured up by the term "new nation," has often been used to refer to an acute sense of group consciousness, and implies a tendency to place a particularly excessive, exaggerated and exclusive emphasis on the value of the nation at the expense of other values. It also implies a closer drawing together within a group, most frequently within the framework of a political structure, and is closely connected with the notion of race and a national mission. It is an ideology based on the belief that a people with common characteristics such as language, religion, or ethnicity constitute a separate and distinctive political community.[59] While there is no doubt that Riel and some of his followers tried to foster or create a romantic notion of national unity in 1869-70, there is little evidence that it was widely accepted or that it acted as a cohesive factor in 1869-70. Riel's concept of the metis nation, which borrowed heavily from

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[58] According to G. F. G. Stanley in The Birth of Western Canada, the metis had "developed a resolute feeling of independence and a keen sense of their own identity which led them to regard themselves as a separate racial and national unit, and which found expression in the name 'The New Nation'," 10. For a more extended discussion of this term with regards to the metis see A. S. Morton, "The New Nation, The Métis," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada XXXIII, Series II (1939).

[59] Jean-C. Bonenfant and Jean-C. Falardeau, "Cultural and Political Implications of French-Canadian Nationalism," in French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), 18-20.

French-Canadian nationalism and an idiosyncratic Catholicism,[60] was not one accepted by many of the metis.

Opposition to Riel among even the French metis lasted well into the spring and summer of 1870. It was only with the arrival of the Wolseley Expedition in August of 1870 that race and "nationality" became a determining factor. The arrival of English-Canadian troops bent on avenging the death of Thomas Scott, initiated a "reign of terror"[61] in the settlement. After this point French metis were not safe in the town of Winnipeg, and the subsequent violence against the French metis initiated a large scale exodus from the colony. Metis leaders, regardless of their stance earlier in the conflict, closed ranks to protect their rights and prevent the dispersal of the French-metis community. Even Pascal Breland, who had opposed Riel and had looked forward to union with Canada, was clearly worried. By the spring of 1872 he was appealing to William Dease that the metis must unite as one to assure the future of their children in the province.

> Désirant la prospérité de cette contrée el l'assurance de tous les droits des Métis, que je regarde tous comme mes frères bien-aimés, dans cette province et dans tout le Territoire North-West, je suis convaincu plus que jamais que l'union fait la force, et que par conséquent, je désire ardemment que tous les métis, de quelque croyance à laquelle ils appartiennent, s'unissent comme un seul homme pour défendre nos droits et nos propriétés pour assurer l'avenir à nos enfants, dépots sacrés que Dieu nous a confiés. Pour ma part, je regrette du plus profond du coeur

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[60] For a brief examination of some of these issues see Jennifer S. H. Brown, "People of Myth, People of History: A Look at Recent Writings on the Metis," Acadiensis 17, No. 1 (1987): 153. For Riel's Religious ideas see Thomas Flanagan, Louis 'David' Riel: Prophet of the New World (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Gilles Martel, Le Messianisme de Louis Riel (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984).

[61] The most detailed treatment of this period is Allen Ronaghan, "The Archibald Administration in Manitoba, 1870-1872," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1987).

tous les troubles passés que mes chers Frères ont eu à subir, mais j'espére que ces troubles ne seront point oubliés du Gouvernement, du moins je ferai tout mes efforts, j'emploierai toute la vigueur qui me reste pour que ces pertes soient remboursées par le dit Gouvernement.[62]

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[62] Letter of Pascal Breland to Wm. Dease, St. Joseph, May 26, 1872. Belleau Collection, PAM.

PART TWO

THE HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY OF THE METIS FAMILY ECONOMY

Chapter VI

Methodology

The political and economic contours of metis life in Red River had their demographic counterparts. Demography is here defined as an all-embracing phenomenon.

> When you have said that [a human being] is born, lives for a certain time during which he reproduces himself, travels about and finally dies, you have defined essentially what demography is about. Everything in demography can be reduced to these essential happenings.[1]

A closer look at these aspects of metis community life will not only provide a test of the arguments made in earlier chapters, but will add to the picture of metis communities in nineteenth century Red River.

The family was the basic unit of residence and the basic unit for pooling and distributing resources for consumption. As such, it provides a valuable and unique perspective from which to study the evolution of metis society in Red River. In particular a closer examination of metis family formation, fertility, mortality, and migration should test the argument that the response of some metis communities to the new economic opportunities in the 1850s and 1860s entailed a proto-industrialization of the metis family economy. Expressed alternatively, the move from a peasant subsistence economy to the capitalist "cottage" robe trade in the 1850s and 1860s transformed the peasant demographic regime of the metis into a proto-industrial demographic regime.

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[1] J. Bourgeois-Pichat, Main Trends in Demography (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973), 7.

The production of goods for new markets beyond the region where they were manufactured[2] and the nascent capitalist organization of the metis family economy had a profound impact on family formation. As the labour of wives and children as well as the labour of the husband became crucial in the preparation of goods for market, earnings, not property, became the pre-requisite for family formation and marriage. The transformation of the metis economy thus eroded a traditional constraint on early marriage. As a result, a rising proportion of people married earlier, with a concomitant rise in fertility and population. The concept of proto-industrialization thus has the value of "implying a shifting set of strategies that allowed those involved to have had, and to have exercised, the power of choice in their own productive lives."[3] Similarly, because disease and death are often closely related to subsistence, the changing economic basis of the metis family economy should be reflected in the structural mortality of the two parishes, and should, therefore, provide another index of the extent to which different metis communities responded to economic change. Finally, it will be argued that migration out of the two metis communities, at least until 1875, was an adaptive response to new economic opportunities, and not as others have argued, a forced dispossession by the Canadian Federal goverment.

The methodology used to generate data for the above analysis was the reconstitution of the families in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's.[4] Family reconstitution is the bringing together of scattered information about members of a family to enable its chief demographic characteristics to be described as fully as possible.

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[2] These goods, chiefly buffalo robes, were made competitive by the use of cheap family labour.

[3] David Levine, Reproducing Families: The Political Economy of English Population History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 94.

[4] For a more complete discussion of the methodology of family reconstitution, and the particular problems of reconstituting metis families in Red River see Appendix D.

When this is done for a whole community, over a long period of time, family reconstitution can penetrate much more effectively than aggregate methods (i.e., censuses) into the demography of a community. It can elucidate clearly those changes in fertility, nuptiality, and mortality which produced various trends in populations. For example, it is possible to follow the reproductive histories of all the women who married in St. Francois Xavier between 1834 and 1865 to the end of their reproductive period, and calculate age-specific fertility rates.[5]

To reconstitute a large number of families in a single community necessitates the existence of fairly complete parish registers and the systematic use of them. As no parish was a closed community, it is not possible to reconstitute all the families in a parish through the use of the registers of that parish alone. Individuals and families moved in and out; thus, only in a small percentage of cases can families be fully reconstituted. A much larger percentage can be partially reconstituted and used in the calculation of some demographic indices. Despite the fact that not all families can be reconstituted, a useful demographic study remains possible. As E. A. Wrigley has pointed out,

> if the total number of reconstituted families is large enough to reduce the risk of random error to an acceptably low level, and if the families reconstituted can be reasonably be held to be representative samples of the population of the whole community, a detailed reconstruction of its population history and demographic mechanisms is possible.[6]

All of this is feasible, however, only if the sources, namely the parish registers, are complete. To make family reconstitution possible it is essential to have a running record of baptisms, burials, and marriages in a parish with sufficient detail at each entry to enable the person concerned to be identified with confidence. It requires a comparatively long period of well-kept records as the proportion of families which it is possible to reconstitute fully will rise with the length of time for which the record is complete.[7] In addition, since only a small proportion of families can be reconstituted completely, the size of the parish should be fairly large (to reduce random error) unless the period under study is of extended duration.[8]

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[5] Of course those women who left the parish or died would not be traced.

[6] E. A. Wrigley, An introduction to English Historical Demography, 96.

According to these criteria, the two parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's are well chosen. Both were among the largest parishes in Red River with populations between 1400 and 1800 by 1870, and both were relatively self-contained communities. Both parishes also had complete parish registers from 1835 to 1890 (the endpoint of the study). The short time period under examination (55 years) proved to be somewhat of a problem in that few families formed after 1870 were completed before the end period. While this problem might have been alleviated to some extent by extending the study into the 20th century, it would not have solved the problem. The high rates of emigration from the late 1860s on, and the high rates of dispossession after 1870 would have substantially reduced the number of completed families. As well, Red River parishes began to lose their wholeness and integrity after 1870 with Canadian immigration, the proliferation of denominations, and the replacement of the parish by the municipality as the administrative unit. For these reasons, rates or tables requiring complete families could only calculated up to 1870. To compensate somewhat for the short period of study, other genealogical sources were utilized to extend the study backward to complete earlier families. In this way it was possible to include numerous parish couples who were married before 1835.[9]

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[7] Ibid.

[8] According to E. A. Wrigley, the ideal parish size would have a population of 1000-2500, with an area of 10,000 acres, and whose main settlement lay at the centre of the parish. Ibid.

[9] The sorts of complementary genealogical information used included earlier parish registers in St. Boniface and St. John's, which recorded the first marriages and baptisms of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's. These registers were kept one to two decades before registers began to be kept in St. Francois Xavier or St. Andrew's. Other sources

The last demographic aspect examined is the migration and persistence of the inhabitants of the two parishes. The main sources for this assessment are three sets of quantitative records: the Red River censuses of 1835, 1849 and 1870[10] (see Appendix A), the Northwest Scrip Applications[11] (see Appendix B), and the land records of the Department of the Interior and Winnipeg Land Titles Office. The "Half-Breed Scrip" commissions of 1885-86 accepted claims from those metis who had left Red River prior to July 15, 1870. These applications for claims thus provided an indication of emigration from Red River for the period previous to 1870. These applications and affidavits gave reasonably complete biographical information for each metis appearing before the Commission. Because the same questions were asked of each applicant this information provided a uniform base for comparative analysis.[12] Applicants were not only asked when and where they were born but also all prior places of residence, making it possible to use these applications to analyze emigration from Red River prior to 1870. (Those leaving Red River or Manitoba after 1870 would have taken Manitoba Scrip and thus would not have been eligible for N.W.H.B. scrip.)

To make use of this data, all biographical information was extracted from the applications of those metis who had previously resided in Red River and had left before

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included family genealogies compiled by others such as those found in PAM, William Grove Speechly Collection.

[10] PAM, Nominal Censuses of the Red River Settlement.

[11] NAC, RG 15, North West Half Breed Scrip Applications.

[12] The biographical information from these scrip applications was not varified by other means (other than a few spot checks) and no one using these records has addressed the question directly. Despite this, confidence in the information is high. Of the scholars working with this data, none have reported mistakes of fact. Those cases rejected by the government were because of conflicts with the law rather than misinformation. It should be remembered that the communities in which these scrip applications were taken were small and mistakes or deceptions could easily have been found out by the scrip commissioners.

July 15, 1870 (606 individuals). The information from these applications was then coded into the computer and used as a quantitative base for the statistical analysis of emigration from Manitoba (see code book in Appendix B).

This data base for metis emigration should be, if not complete, at least representative of metis migration to the North West Territories before 1870. The three sources of systematic bias in these applications were, first of all, that they would not have included most of those metis individuals who migrated to the United States and remained there since they would not have applied for scrip in Canada.[13] Secondly, those metis who entered an Indian Treaty and did not subsequently leave the treaty would also not have applied for scrip, and finally scrip records would tend to under-report migration in the very early period as these individuals would not have been alive in 1885 when the scrip affidavits were taken. There were numerous cases of metis leaving Red River for North Dakota, Minnesota and Montana who subsequently returned to Canada to apply for scrip, but there were no doubt many more who remained in the States. Similarly, although there were many Red River metis emigrants who entered Indian Treaties and subsequently withdrew from Treaty Status to take scrip, there were many who remained Treaty Indians and thus invisible to this mode of determining metis emigration. Despite these sources of bias, the scrip applications remain the best and most accurate source in determining the date of migration of specific individuals and their destination.

A more detailed analysis of persistence and migration has been carried out on the two metis parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier, based upon the Red River censuses of 1835, 1849, 1870 and 1881. The names of family heads were linked from one census to the next to determine which families left the parish between censuses and which families persisted. This information was then correlated with other census information (amount of land cultivated, number of buildings, number of livestock, number of carts, family size and composition, and age) to measure statistically patterns of association.[14] This methodology, based as it is on the linking of family heads from one census to the next, would have missed the migration of adolescent children or young adults before they had started their own families.

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[13] It should be noted that some metis in the United States did apply for scrip.

This statistical analysis of census data was supplemented by a lot-by-lot analysis of the alienation of metis land in these two parishes after 1870, along with a ten percent sample of the lots in the remaining parishes.[15] For each river lot it was determined who was the rightful occupant as of 1870,[16] the date of alienation if before 1890, all subsequent transactions to the date of patent, and the person who patented the land. In this way it was possible to establish a chronology of the alienation of metis land, and determine if the patentee derived his/her claim through the 1870 occupant. This type of analysis made it possible to determine if government coercion or illegalities were to blame for the dispossession of the metis. For example, if an 1870 occupant (or his heirs) had sold their lot subsequent to 1870, and the patentee derived their claim through the original 1870 resident, then no illegality is deemed to have taken place. If, on the other hand, the land was occupied in 1870, and no line of transactions could be traced from this occupant to the patentee, then coercion or illegalities were deemed to have taken place. These various sources and methods provide an acceptable indication of the chronology and patterns of migration of the metis in the two parishes, and detail the dispersion and disintegration of these communities after 1870.

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[14] See Appendix A for a more detailed description of the methodology employed.

[15] The information for this lot by lot analysis comes from the Abstract Book of the Winnipeg Land Titles office which recorded the first sales of these parish lots after 1870. Also used were the parish lot files (PAM RG 17, D2) which were files, kept by the Department of Interior on each river lot, pertaining to the ownership and patenting of parish land. Some files are missing from the set found in the PAM. These were files retained by the Department of the Interior when the records were transferred to Manitoba in 1930. These missing files are now located in the Manitoba Act Files, NAC RG 15, Vol. 140-168.

[16] According to the Manitoba Act and subsequent amendments to the same, all residents in undisturbed occupancy of river lots, up until March of 1869 were given pre-emptive right to the land.

Chapter VII

Metis Family Formation and Fertility in St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier 1834-90

The trends, changes, determinants, and consequences of family formation and fertility affect nearly all of the institutional and organizational systems of a community or region. In short, the fertility behaviour of a people provides a basic blueprint of the economic, social and political evolution of a particular society. Changes in procreative behaviour are influential accompaniments of virtually every variation in the fortunes of society. Thus the transformation of metis society in Red River after 1840 should be reflected in changing patterns of family formation and fertility. In particular, the argument that this transition entailed a proto-industrialization of the metis family economy implies that the metis family underwent a change from a peasant demographic regime to a proto-industrial demographic regime.

In order to determine how the Red River metis communities conformed or departed from these demographic models, it is necessary to explain briefly the dynamics of each fertility regime.[1] This discussion of marriage and fertility proposes that the main purpose of marriage in metis society was to satisfy the psychological, sexual and social needs of the individuals concerned. The decision of whether or not to marry involved a compromise between economic necessities on the one hand and biological and psychic pressures on the other -- and involved a particular balance of short and long term costs which generated a basic incentive structure for having children. It asserts that marriage and a given fertility regime are rational within the economic and cultural constraints existing in that society.

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[1] The following summary is based on a number of sources. Wally Seccombe, "Marxism and Demography: Household forms and Fertility Regimes in the Western European Transition," in James Dickinson and Bob Russel (ed.) Family, Economy & State: The Social Reproduction Process Under Capitalism (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1986); David Levine, Reproducing Families; Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1982).

Peasant Demographic Model

The households of an agarian peasant village in the North Western European tradition reproduced themselves from one generation to the next within a fairly closed system. They were involved, predominantly, in mixed subsistence farming for direct use and local barter, where the surplus was sold to pay rent and not primarily to reap a profit. Because of the limited access to land and the nature of local inheritance laws and customs, peasant children reaching biological adulthood had to bide their time and wait for their elders to play their marital cards. Alternative livelihoods -- sufficient to go off and form one's own household without parental consent -- were not very plentiful, unknown or too intimidating to the village youth. In this situation, village endogamy (broadly defined to include neighbouring villages) prevailed, and most couples had to await the availability of a plot of land (including livestock and farm implements) to marry. It was a pervasive social rule that a man should not marry until he was able to earn an independent "living" sufficient to maintain his family. This folk wisdom acted as a brake on marriage.

Delayed marriages left many young adults at loose ends for a few years, and the peasant village regulated this residual population through the institution of domestic service. The limits of land availability, marriage and inheritance customs thus determined the pace of new household formation. The majority of young adults preferred to wait and secure their own independent households rather than to marry and move in with parents. Consequently marriage was characteristically late and non-universal. In the western European tradition marriage took place at twenty-three years of age or later for both sexes, with approximately ten per cent of the population never marrying.[2]

The primary mode of fertility regulation in these circumstances was through the delay of marriage where women, on average, bore no children for the first twelve to fourteen years of their fertile life, or until their mid to later twenties. This "nuptiality valve" eased or tightened in relation to the availability of land or alternative employments. The incentive equation within marriage initially weighed strongly in favour of having children to work on the farm, to inherit the holding (males preferably), and to care for the parents in old age. There was, however, a limit on the number of children desired since all those who were not in line to inherit the land constituted an eventual drain (after their labour contribution ended) upon its chattel wealth, compelling a division of dowries and other forms of pre-mortem inheritance. However, the means of birth control being rudimentary and culturally discouraged or forbidden made it difficult for couples to stop reproduction in the mid to late thirties when they reached what might be regarded as an ideal family size. Birth spacing was easier to manage, and was in evidence in many areas through abstinence, and prolonged lactation.

Proto-industrial Demographic Model

Domestic production for a supralocal market accelerated in the eighteenth century in those regions of western Europe where soil was poor and subsistence farming was no longer viable. This cottage industry, exploiting cheap domestically-based rural labour, was initially closely integrated with subsistence farming, filling in the slack time of year when labour demands in agriculture were low. As time went on, however, commodity production in household enterprises began to dominate. Not surprisingly this new mode of production, production for market, initiated an entirely different fertility regime.

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[2] J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography, eds. D. W. Glass and D. E. C. Eversely (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), 101-143.

With the rise of "cottage" industry the importance of land weakened, since the household's livelihood was not primarily dependent on the land or the amount of land owned. In those areas where household commodity production prevailed, farming increasingly came to resemble extensive gardening. A merchant or loan could establish a household independent of agriculture. Patriarchal control over one's offspring was correspondingly weakened. Children could choose to establish non-farming households. With the absence of these restraints, the age at first marriage dropped and the cost/incentive structure influencing decisions was tilted heavily in favour of childbearing as the labour supply in domestic industry was strictly familial. People were generally too poor to afford to pay wages. Thus, the pool of domestic labour shrank when the age at marriage dropped. Furthermore the collapse of the dowry system and other forms of pre-mortem inheritance removed what had been a strong disincentive to prolific child-bearing for poor couples.

R. S. Schofield and E. A. Wrigley, in their studies of English population history, have shown conclusively that the rapid increase in the English population in the 18th century was not due to any decrease in mortality, but rather to a drop of three years in the age of first marriage for women -- from about 26 years of age to 23 years. Since the mid-twenties are the period of peak fecundity for women, a drop of three years in marriage age was sufficient to make a substantial difference to overall fertility. These secular changes in nuptiality were closely associated with secular trends in real wages.[3] They also discovered that the proportion of those never marrying dropped at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Schofield and Wrigley calculated that in the second half of the seventeenth century as many as 22.9% of the population of both sexes between 40 and 44 years of age were still not married. There was a great change in the second half of the eighteenth century when the corresponding equivalent figure was about 6-9%.[4] Clearly the disincentive to marriage and early marriage had disappeared.

Metis Family Formation

How then does the family and population history of the Red River metis communities compare to these models and trends in Britain and western Europe? Because so little is known of the family and reproductive history of the metis some attempt will be made to sketch the qualitative aspects as well as the quantitative measures.

Marriage

By the 1830s the Red River metis were increasingly accepting church marriage as the culturally sanctioned means of starting a family. In 1831 Rev. William Cockran, recently relocated to the Rapids mission site, which would become the Parish of St. Andrew's, commented:

> There appears to be a growing respect among the population for the ordinance of matrimony. The youths are not now in the habit of going and living together until their banns were published, but they are legally

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[3] E. A. Wrigley, "Growth of Population in Eighteenth-Century England: A Conundrum Resolved," Past and Present 98 (February 1983); E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, "English Population History from Family Reconstitution: Summary Results 1600-1679," Population Studies 37 (1987); E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction (London: Edward Arnold, 1981).

[4] E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, "English Population History," 176.

> married according to the form of our Church.[5]

He noted that there were only two illegitimate births at the Rapids settlement that year.[6] Indeed illegitimate births were not common in either parish after 1834 when parish registers began to be kept.[7] The ratios of illegitimate births to legitimate births in St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were comparable to figures for parishes in Lower Canada in the early nineteenth century and are considerably lower than European figures (see Table 7).[8] Previous to 1870, the only time when illegitimate births rose even slightly in St. Andrew's was in the period 1846-1854, a period coinciding with the presence of soldiers in the settlement.[9] Quartered at Lower Fort Garry (within the parish of St. Andrew's) these soldiers of the Sixth Regiment of Foot proved troublesome to the clergy of the parish in maintaining the morality of their parishioners. As Rev. Robert James noted in his journal,

> Was informed today of another instance of seduction of one of our young females by a soldier. I was the more grieved because it has been done in spite of a plain and painful lecture which I gave her a year ago when I had reason to suspect the intercourse. . . . These instances were hitherto

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[5] CMS Records, I.C., L.B. I (Reel 3) William Cockran to Sec., August 12, 1837, 428-32.

[6] CMS Records, C.1/0, Cockran Journal, August 12, 1831, 213-214.

[7] Parish registers identified illegitimate births from the first, however, the possibility of underreporting could have occurred as a function of different values of the various parish priests or minister over the histories of the two parishes.

[8] In St. Francois Xavier the percentage of illegitimate births to legitimate births varied from 1% to 3% in the period 1834 to 1890. In St. Andrew's the ratio varied from .7% to 2.3%. The parish of Sorel in Lower Canada experienced a ratio of 2.2% illegitimate to legitimate births in the period 1800-39. See Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840, 58.

[9] In 1846, on the pretext of the Oregon Crisis, the Red River Settlement received a garrison of approximately 300 officers and men of the Sixth Regiment of Foot. Dale Miquelon, "A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry," Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History - Number 4 (Ottawa, 1970), 10-41.

unknown in the community.[10]

Although the regiment left the Settlement in June of 1848, they were replaced by approximately 70 Chelsea Pensioners who proved even more troublesome. They were a wild lot given to drinking and fighting[11] and who, rather than protecting the Colony, were regarded as the scourge of the earth by the clergy of Red River. Neither the civil nor the military authority could control them and Governor Colvile observed, "We have more trouble with the pensioners than all the rest of the settlement put together."[12]

TABLE 7
Ratio of Illegitimate Births and Pre-marital Conceptions 1834-1890

	% Illegitimate Births to Legitimate Births		% Pre-marital Conceptions to all First Births	
	St. F.X.	St. Andrew's	St.F.X.	St. Andrew's
1834-39	1.0	0.7	4.35	0.0
1840-49	3.0	.42	1.5	2.8
1850-59	2.9	2.3	1.9	5.4
1860-69	2.5	.73	6.0	2.4
1870 +	2.0	2.2	2.3	5.0

The ratio of pre-marital conceptions (children born in the first seven months of marriage)[13] to all first births was also low in both parishes, both by Lower-Canadian and European standards.[14] These low rates are explained, to some extent, by widespread early marriage documented later in the chapter. Marriage at a very young age meant that metis youths experienced a shorter period of time in which their sexual urges did not have a socially sanctioned outlet. Yet particular blocks of time do stand out. In St. Francois Xavier, the decade in which there were the highest number of pre-marital conceptions was the 1860s. The most obvious explanation for this behavior in the 1860s lies in the fact that many metis from the parish were wintering on the plains. Unable to marry until returning to the Colony in Spring some couples would not have waited to consummate the union. These pre-marital conceptions then fell off again in the 1870s as these winterers emigrated permanently. In St. Andrew's the two periods of higher pre-marital conceptions were the 1850s and 1870s. The 1850s, when the pensioners were in the Colony, have already been discussed, and the rise in pre-nuptial conceptions after 1870 might be attributed to the rapid influx of Canadians into the parish. But even with these periods of greater incidence, illegitimacy and pre-nuptial conceptions were low for both parishes. By and large one can conclude that after the 1830s the metis of Red River tended to confine sexual activity to marriage.

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[10] CMS Records, C1./O, I.C. (Reel 18) Journal of Rev. Robert James, January 24, 1848.

[11] W. L. Morton, "Introduction," Eden Colvile's Letters, 1849-52 (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), lxxvi.

[12] Quoted in Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 366.

[13] While this might include some premature births conceived after marriage this appears to have been unlikely. Almost all the pre-marital conceptions took place in the first five months of marriage.

This acceptance of church marriage as the means of starting a family can be seen in marriage figures. The higher rates of marriage in St. Andrew's and St. Francois in the first years after the parishes were formed is an indication that many couples who had been living together for years in the "custom of the country" were now formalizing the

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[14] In St. Francois Xavier the percentage of pre-martial conceptions to all first births in the period 1834 to 1890 ranged from 1.5% to 6%. In St. Andrew's the percentage ranged from 0% to 5.4% (see Table 7). The parish of Sorel, Lower Canada experienced a rate of 8.4% in the period 1810-39. See Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant, 59. Greer's higher figures might be attributable to the fact that he included all children born in the first eight months (rather than the seven months used to calculate the rate in Red River). However, even when eight months was used for the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's the percentage of pre-marital conceptions to all first births never exceeded 6%.

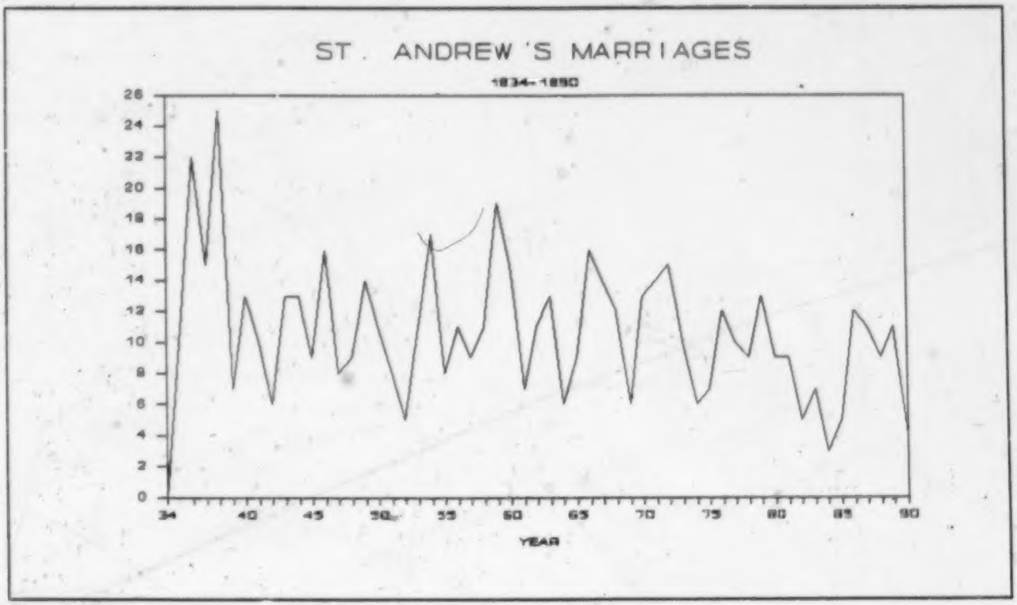

figure 5

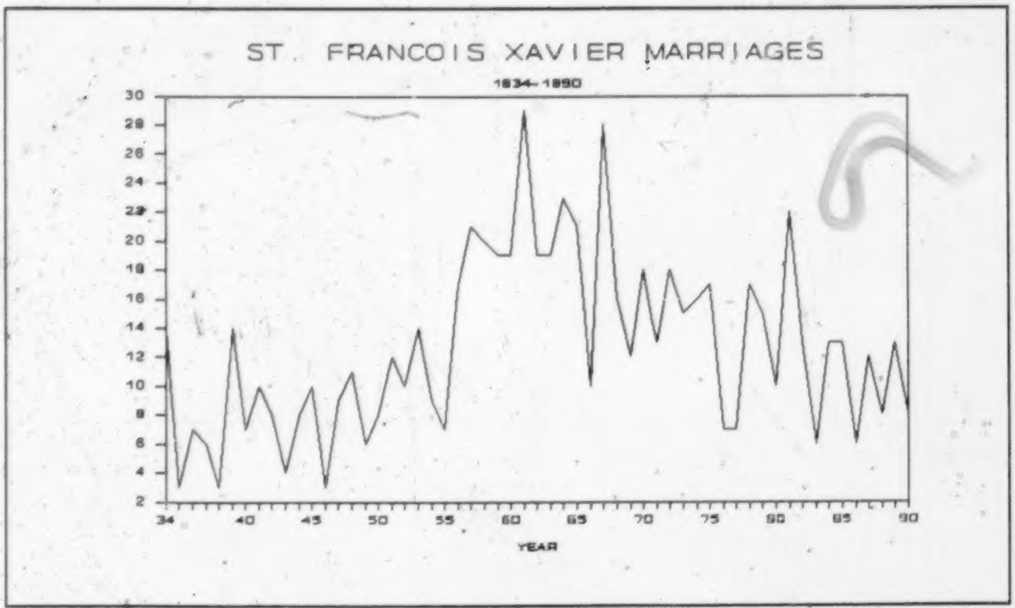

figure 6

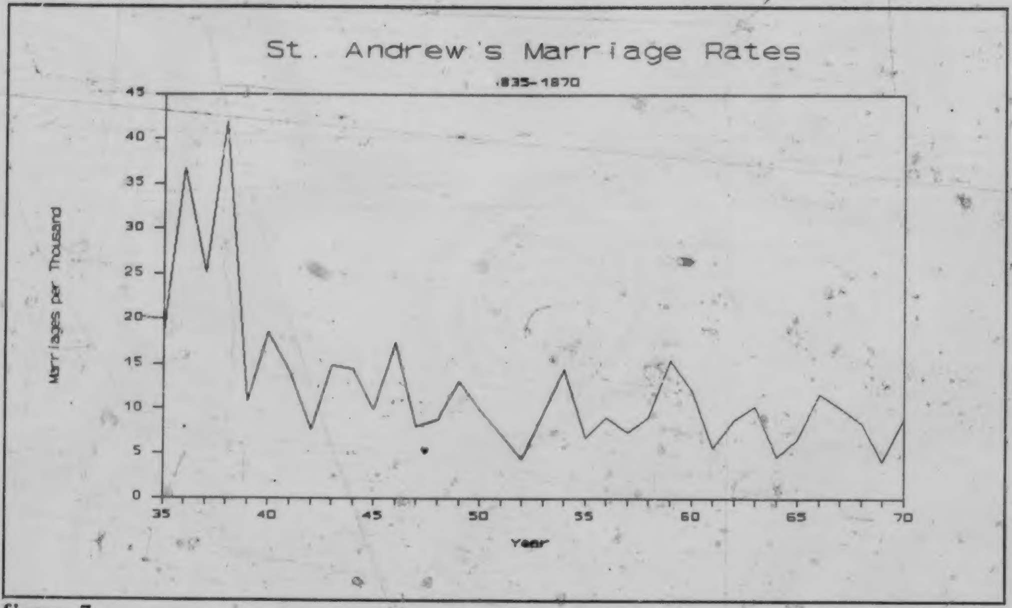

figure 7

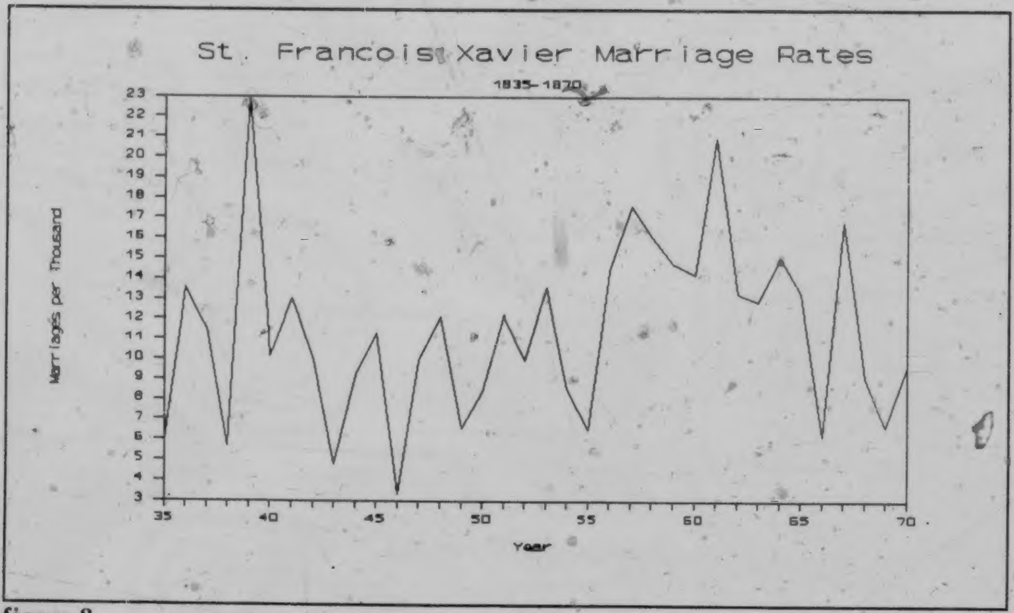

figure 8

relationship (see figures 7 & 8).[15] Reconstruction of some of these families using the census of 1870 and genealogical affividavits taken in the 1870s show that a good number of the marriages in the period from 1834 to 1840 were those of couples with families already in existence.

Unfortunately, there is not much information about the courtship practices of the metis, but the few surviving accounts paint a fairly consistent picture. Courtship rituals were short and sweet. The most extended description is that found in H. M. Robinson's Great Fur Land. The author spent some time in a metis wintering camp in the 1860s and witnessed some of these practices. As there was little opportunity for privacy in these camps the metis suitor would pay a visit to the home (single room hut) of his sweetheart, whereupon he would be invited to dine regardless of the hour of the day. The men of the household and the prospective son-in-law would be served by the women. On finishing the meal the young metis couple would retire to a corner of the hut where in the presence of the rest of the family they would whisper their endearments and exchange caresses. The terms of endearments often took the form of calling the other pet names derived from animals regarded as particularly innocent and beautiful.[16] After a short time the female members of the family would begin to participate in these discussions and in this way the suitor was "wafted into matrimony with a facility and dispatch." After this short courtship the anticipated mother-in-law contributed to the certainty of the matrimonial venture by exhibiting the household wares which would accompany the bride. From this time on the couple was considered engaged.[17]

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[15] The higher rates of marriage in St. Andrew's, as compared to St. Francois Xavier, were probably occurred because St. Francois was an older settlement (priests had been serving the locality since the 1820s) and because St. Andrew's experienced a much higher rate of immigration in the 1830s as retiring Hudson's Bay Company servants settled there with their metis families.

[16] Some of the names mentioned by Robinson were musk-ox, or if the suitor desired to be more tender he might call her musk-rat. By the blending of Indian and French languages the woman became a beautiful wolverine and a common-place love name was "my little pig."

This account of the brief nature of courtship is verified in a number of memoirs. In the space of less than two hours Peter Erasmus met and proposed to Charlotte Jackson. While he had known of her before and had been attracted to her for some time, they were virtual strangers when he proposed.[18] Norbert Welsh's courtship of Cecilia Boyer in 1864 was similarly short.

> One day before the brigade started for Fort Garry, I took a little ride in my dog-sled around the settlement. On my way I met a girl, the daugter of a trader. She was walking. I looked at her and thought to myself, "by Jove, that's what I'm looking for! You'll be my wife."
>
> Well I knew where she lived, so that same evening I walked to her house. She wasn't there. I was out of luck. I waited. After a while she came in. My heart began to beat fast. I was sitting on a stool. I asked her if she would come and sit beside me. She did. I asked her if she were engaged. She replied that she was not. I told her that I wanted her to tell me definitely whether she was or not. She answered that she was not engaged. Then I told her that I had been looking for her a long time, and asked her if she would consent to an engagement with me. She agreed. I told her that when we got to Fort Garry we would get married, that she must not break her promise.[19]

Two months after talking to her they were married.

Couples usually decided to marry when they were financially independent enough to set up a separate household. Peter Erasmus first proposed marriage to a metis woman in 1856 and was turned down because she thought he did not have sufficient "stability" to warrant an answer to her ideal of a happy married life.[20] Robinson noted that at the time of engagement it was customary for the suitor to make a present of a few horses or a quantity of provisions to the prospective father-in-law.[21] Norbert Welsh decided it was time to get married after he had become established as a plains trader. Welsh also makes clear that marriage was not strictly a matter of the heart. He noted that the woman he wanted to marry was the daughter of another plains trader, and commented that he was sure he had made the right choice after she had made him a pair of moccasins. In marrying Cecilia Boyer, Welsh achieved membership in the metis wintering camp at Round Plain and obtained familial labour to better equip him as a plains hunter and trader.[22]

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[17] H. M. Robinson, The Great Fur Land or Sketches of Life in the Hudson Bay Territory (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879), 262-266.

[18] Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1976), 172-174.

[19] Mary Weekes, The Last Buffalo Hunter, 55-56.

[20] Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights, 60-62.

By the 1850s and 1860s it was no longer necessary or even desirable to have a position with the Hudson's Bay Company or to possess a river lot farm with the requisite implements and buildings to start a separate household. New opportunities in the fur trade allowed young metis to amass significant amounts of capital, and the exigencies of the buffalo-robe trade made marriage and family an economic asset. Given these new opportunities one would expect more marriages and fewer persons to remain unmarried permanently. In St. Francois Xavier, which was the parish of origin for most of the plains traders and hunters, marriage rates did in fact increase after 1850 (see figure 7). In the 1840s St. Francois Xavier averaged 9 marriages per thousand inhabitants, while in the 1850s and 1860s it averaged 13 marriages per thousand.

In St. Andrew's, on the other hand, marriage rates actually decreased after 1850. During the decade of the 1840s, St. Andrew's marriage rates averaged 12 per thousand, falling to less than 9 in the 1850s and to an average of 8 in the 1860s. Nevertheless, this seemingly inconsistent result, even given a lesser participation in the robe trade by the St. Andrew's metis, makes sense when other factors are considered. In particular the move of many of the parish's hunters and traders to the new settlement of Portage La Prairie (which was closer to the plains) in the early 1850s would account for much of this drop. Most of the metis who remained in St. Andrew's chose not to take advantage of the new trading opportunities, but continued to support themselves by subsistence agriculture and labour for the Hudson's Bay Company. For these metis, access to river-lot farms and implements would continue to act as a brake on family formation.[23]

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[21] H. M. Robinson, The Great Fur Land.

[22] Welsh noted that the first winter after he was married he wintered in the camp of Cecilia's father and her Uncle Charles Trottier. Mary Weekes, The Last Buffalo Hunter, 55-91.

The different patterns of family formation in the two parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's is further emphasized by examining the relationship of marriages to burials in the two parishes. In general, if an increase in the incidence of marriages coincides with higher incidences of burials in a parish, then it can be assumed that inheritance and the transmission of land to heirs has a strong influence on marriage patterns. Conversely, a negative correlation between burials and marriages in a parish -- that is as deaths increase, marriages decrease -- is a general indicator that periods of hardship and higher death rates discouraged marriage and the formation of new families, and that children were marrying for their own reasons.[24] While the question needs to be studied in more detail for Red River communities, some rough figures show a difference in the two parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's. Of the thirty-four years from 1836 and 1870, increases and decreases of marriage and death rates coincided fifty per cent of the time in St. Andrew's, while in St. Francois Xavier this was the case only thirty-two per cent of the time.[25] This would seem to indicate that family formation in St. Andrew's was more closely tied to the transmission of property than was the case in St. Francois Xavier.

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[23] One indication of involvement in the plains trading economy was the ownership of carts. The 1856 census listed St. Francois Xavier residents as owning 483 carts, while St. Andrew's residents owned only 221. This was less than the number in St. Paul's which had less than half the population of St. Andrew's. By way of contrast St. Andrew's residents owned more than three times the number of ploughs and harrows than the residents of St. Francois Xavier. See Census of 1856 summarized in H. Y. Hind, "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country," 564. No complete (nominal level) manuscript census for 1856 is known to exist.

[24] In England a positive correlation between deaths and marriages was common especially in areas where a period of high mortality caused many holdings to fall vacant. For a discussion of this relationship see E. A. Wrigley, An Introduction to English historical demography, 154n. Also see David Levine, "'For Their own Reasons': Individual Marriage Decisions and Family Life," Journal of Family History 7, No. 3 (Fall 1982).

The choice of marriage partners seems, from accounts which survive, to have been left to the metis children rather than controlled by the parents. What mattered most was securing the consent and goodwill of those concerned. This appears to be a departure from earlier fur trade practices where fur trade company fathers would often arrange their daughters' alliances to ensure that their adult daughters could continue in the way of life to which they had become accustomed.[26] Even in Red River, however, there was some element of parental veto, especially among the "principal settlers" of the Colony. In 1834 when William Hallet, a leader of the buffalo hunt[27] and son of former Hudson's Bay Company officer Henry Hallet, asked for the hand of the daughter of Chief Factor Allan McDonell, his suit was rejected by her guardian the Governor of Assiniboia. As the Governor told Hallet, he had no right aspiring to the hand of a lady accustomed to the first society. This type of parental and social control does not seem to have predominated among the metis themselves. When Hallet's suit was rejected there was a general metis (both English and French) protest to challenge the slight.

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[25] That is, in 17 of the 34 years, St. Andrew's marriage rates increased the same year death rates increased, or decreased the same year death rates decreased. In St. Andrew's the rate of this occurrence was generally regular throughout the time period, while in St. Francois Xavier the incidence of positive correlations between the two rates decreased over time. For a graphic depiction of these trends see figures 15 & 16 in Chapter VIII. A much more accurate and meaningful test would be to trace individual first marriages to determine what the relation was to parental deaths.

[26] See Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 74-76.

[27] The Nor'Wester on November 25, 1861 noted that the fall buffalo hunt from the Settlement was led by Mr. William Hallet.

Even "mixed" marriages (between Protestant and Catholic) seemed not to have weighed heavily upon the metis, even if they were deplored by most of the clergy in the Settlement. As early as 1824, Father Provencher was writing Bishop Plessis in Quebec for advice on this matter. A problem had arisen when a Catholic metis woman had been married to a Protestant metis by Rev. Jones, the Church of England Clergyman. The woman had not been baptised by Jones because she wished to remain a Catholic like her father. Provencher wanted to know if the Church considered this marriage valid, since these types of marriages were becoming more common.[28] Plessis replied that in a case such as this the marriage was considered to be void unless the Protestant became a Catholic.[29] Later in the 1840s the Catholic Church felt it necessary to redo the work of Protestant ministers who had married Catholic metis to "femmes infidèles".[30] The metis, however, do not seem to have been particularly bothered by these rulings. By the 1860s the metis of St. Joseph, just across the United States boundary, were taking advantage of marriage outside the church by government appointed justices of the peace. According to the priest there, no one protested or felt any shame.[31] While the only valid marriages in the Red River Settlement were still religious weddings,[32] the metis seemed to have few scruples about changing church affiliation to get married. By the 1860s the parish priest at St. Francois Xavier noted that a "good" number of Protestant metis were being baptised in order to marry French Catholic metis women.[33] It also worked the other way around. By the mid 1870s and 1880s parents were increasingly asking the parish priest of St. Francois Xavier for permission for their daughters to marry Protestants. In one particular case Father Kavanagh admitted that whatever the decision of the Church, the girl would marry regardless.[34] When Peter Erasmus, a Protestant metis, first considered marriage to a Catholic metis girl from Lac Ste. Anne, he noted that both the Anglican and Catholic Church in the West declared that such "mixed marriages" could not possibly succeed. Erasmus had no problem ignoring this teaching himself and noted that the claim of the Catholic Church rested lightly on the girl's shoulders as well.[35]

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[28] Provencher to J.O. Plessis, June 1, 1824, Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface XII, No. 11 May 15, 1913, 222.

[29] Bishop Plessis to Provencher, April 15, 1825, G.L. Nute (ed.) Documents Relating to the North West Missions, 1815-1827 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942).

[30] AASB, Fonds Provencher, P1796-98, Letter of J.B. Thibault to Mgr. Provencher, Juin 2, 1842

[31] AASB, Fonds Taché, Father Andre to Bishop Taché, October 11, 1862.

[32] The law of England as introduced into Rupert's Land on May 2, 1670, deemed valid such marriages only as were solemnized by a person in holy orders. This comprised the clergy of every Episcopal church but excluded Presbyterian ministers. The Council of Rupert's Land found it necessary in 1848 to allow religious teachers in general, and, in case of necessity, certain laymen to celebrate marriages. When the Presbyterian minister John Black arrived in the Colony the regulations were changed to

Far more important in limiting the number of "mixed marriages" in the Red River Settlement was the high degree of local or parish endogamy. In both St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier 70-90% of all marriages were between partners from the same

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permit Presbyterian marriages. In 1868 all marriages performed by legally ordained clergymen were considered valid. E. H. Oliver (ed.) The Canadian Northwest: Its Early Development and Legislative Records, 101.

[33] Marginal note made in the St. Francois Xavier Parish Register. It was not possible to tell from the entries in the register itself which baptismal candidates were Protestants, although one or two candidates a year would be baptised and then married a few days later.

[34] AASB, Fonds Taché, F. X. Kavanagh to Taché, 25 janvier, 1876, T16954-55; Kavanagh to Taché, 14 mars, 1889, T39472-75.

[35] Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights, 60-62, 85-88.

parish (see Tables 8 & 9).[36] In St. Andrew's the period of greatest endogamy was the era before 1850, decreasing steadily after this time. In St. Francois Xavier local endogamy actually increased after 1850 and then declined after 1870. The drop after 1870 in both parishes, however, is somewhat deceiving, reflecting more the subdivision

TABLE 8
Residence of Marriage Partners
St. Francois Xavier 1834-90

	1834-49		1850-69		1870-90		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Marriages	126		333		272		731	
Both/SFX	94	74.6	258	77.5	187	68.8	539	74.7
Bride/SFX	111	88.1	284	85.3	238	87.5	633	86.6
Groom/SFX	106	84.1	285	85.6	197	72.4	588	80.4

TABLE 9
Residence of Marriage Partners
St. Andrew's 1834-1890

	1834-49		1850-69		1870-90		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Marriages	169[37]		206		189		564	
Both/St. And.	153	90.5	163	79.1	133	70.4	449	79.6
Bride/St. And.	159	95.2	193	93.7	162	85.7	514	91.1
Groom/St. And	157	92.9	177	85.9	142	75.1	476	84.4

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[36] While no comparison was found to parishes in Lower Canada, this endogamy rate of 70-90% within the two parishes at Red River was comparable to the village endogamy in rural England. Studies of several villages in England, six in Lancashire and one near York, indicate that as late as 1800 about 2/3 of all grooms chose brides from the village itself and about 90% from within ten miles. Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800, abridged edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 51.

[37] This number does not include the twenty-three marriages solemnized in St. Andrew's between couples from the Indian settlement.

of the older parish communities, rather than an increasing tendency to marry outsiders. The decrease in St. Francois Xavier endogamy is almost completely attributable to the marriage partners coming from Baie St. Paul and Riviere Aux Ilets de Bois, both satellite communities of St. Francois Xavier founded after 1870. The decrease in St. Andrew's, on the other hand, is attributable to an increase of marriage partners from St. Clement's, which had been part of St. Andrew's previous to 1861. The main difference between St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's, other than the higher degree of endogamy in St. Andrew's prior to 1850, is the residence of the marriage partners from outside the parish. Most of the exogamous partners of marriages in St. Francois Xavier prior to 1870 came from the North West. This was also the case for St. Andrew's, but only up until 1850. After this point most outside partners came from other parishes in Red River such as St. Paul's and St. John's. This difference again reflects the greater participation of the St. Francois Xavier metis in the plains trade and their tendency to winter in the North West.

In both parishes most marriages took place in winter, at least in the period before 1850. As in other peasant societies, such as those in Lower Canada and Europe, this was the time when agricultural tasks were not pressing and when fresh meat and other supplies were plentiful.[38] The Hudson's Bay Company stores were full at this time and much more could be purchased "to carry on with greater Eclat."[39] Marriage was a turning point in the individual's life cycle, usually the transition from dependent minor to adult, and as such was the cause of a large celebration and ritual. Metis weddings, whether in English-Protestant or French-Catholic parishes, were joyous affairs lasting several days and involving much feasting, dancing, and drinking. Peter Garrioch who attended a wedding in late November of 1846, apologizes for his behaviour:

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[38] Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840, 49.

[39] Letter of Thomas Bunn to Nancy, August 3, 1831. Quoted in Dennis Bayley, A Londoner in Rupert's Land: Thomas Bunn of the Hudson's Bay Company (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1969), 60.

> This is a day which I cannot soon forget; and the impression which the shameful occurrences of it have made on my mind will doubtless, and I hope, continue fresh in my memory until I cease to breathe. Charles Cook Jr. was married to-day to the late George Spence's daughter Margaret. About supper time --! The scene was too disgraceful to relate. Brothers & brother-in-law --! Great God, forgive us all our folly, and our deviation from the path of sobriety, chastity and charity in what Thou hast commanded us always to walk.[40]

When Cuthbert Grant's daughter was married in St. Francois Xavier in 1843, one of the guests noted that the dancing was already in progress when he arrived at twelve noon.

> We reached Mr. Grant's about 12 o'clock and found them all dancing; and Mr. Grant himself in that happy state, which is sometimes called glorious. We had something to eat and joined the dance. . . . We had danced all day and til 4 o'clock next morning -- and by 9 the following day left them -- heartily tired of the scene, but thinking the bridegroom a very happy fellow.[41]

Weddings among the upper strata and non-metis in the settlement were more subdued affairs. According to Thomas Bunn, weddings among the more "respectable" in the colony were concluded with a dinner at the house of the father-in-law or house of the bridegroom. The evening was concluded with a glass and conversation, and sometimes a song. Intoxication and dancing were confined to the "vulgar" in the Colony.[42]

Within this seasonal preference for winter marriages before 1850, there were a few differences between the two parishes. The preferred month of marriage in St. Francois Xavier, a Catholic metis parish, was January followed closely by February (see figure 9). No marriages at all took place in December, the Advent season. In St. Andrew's, an Anglican metis parish, the preferred months of marriage were November and December, with December the most popular month.

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[40] PAM, Journal of Peter Garrioch - Part V, "Home Journal 1845-47," November 26, 1846, Typescript, 316.

[41] Letter of Robert Clouston, 1843, reprinted in Elaine Allan Mitchell, "Red River Gossip," Beaver (Spring 1961): 4-11.

[42] Denis Bayley, A Londoner in Rupert's Land, 60.

This pattern of winter marriages began to change in St. Francois Xavier after 1850. Increasingly the months of May-June and August-September become preferable dates for weddings, with September the time of most marriages (see figure 10). January and February, however, remained popular months for weddings. The explanation for this shift lies in the increasing move to wintering in the 1850s. The increasing importance of the buffalo-robe trade after 1850 necessitated wintering near the buffalo on the plains for those families involved. Out of the settlement for the winter months, these younger couples would marry after they had returned to their home parish in April, or shortly before they left again for the plains in fall. As earlier noted, Norbert Welsh, who met and proposed to his future wife in a wintering camp at Round Plain, married her three days after returning to the settlment on May 24, 1867.[43] This continued to be the practice in St. Francois Xavier until the more permanent wintering villages in the North West began to attract resident priests, and until this wintering experience turned into permanent emigration in the late 1860s and 1870s. With the increase of permanent emigration from St. Francois Xavier after the mid-1860s, winter marriages again become predominant in the Parish (see figure 11).

No parallel seasonal evolution in the time of marriage occurred in St. Andrew's. Winter marriage remained the norm throughout the period studied. The only real change was the gradual increase in the number of summer marriages after 1870. With most of the St. Andrew's metis involved in the plains trade moving to Portage La Prairie after 1851, the practice of wintering on the plains was not a common pattern.

The age at which metis men and women married varied somewhat between

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[43] Welsh, in his memoirs, dates his wedding day as May 26, 1864. The St. Francois Xavier wedding register, however, has it dated as May 27, 1867. Given that Welsh's memoirs were written up over a half century after the events they describe, the dates given in the parish register have been used. See Mary Weekes, *The Last Buffalo Hunter*, 54-57.

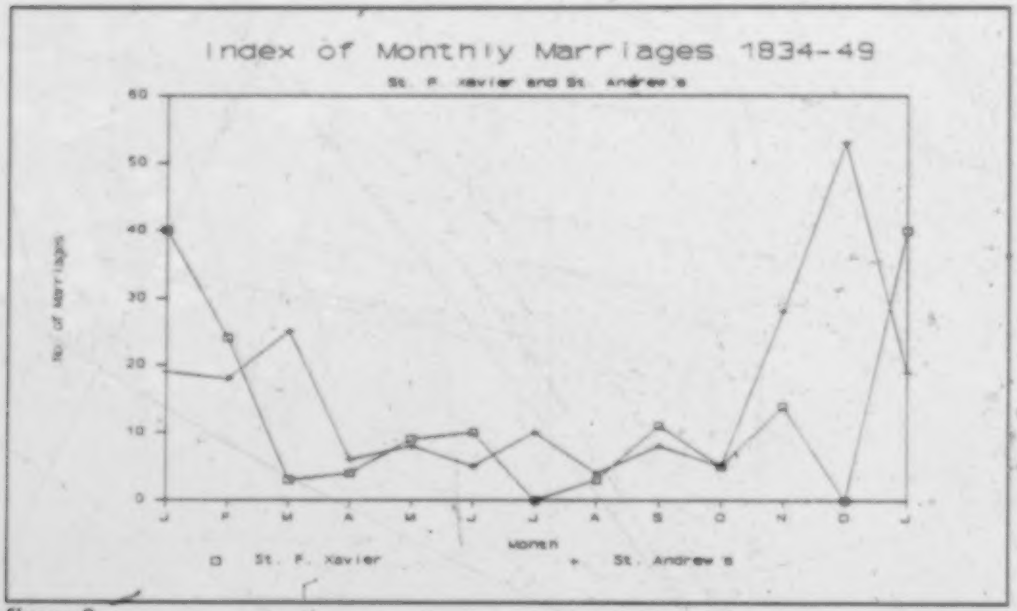

figure 9

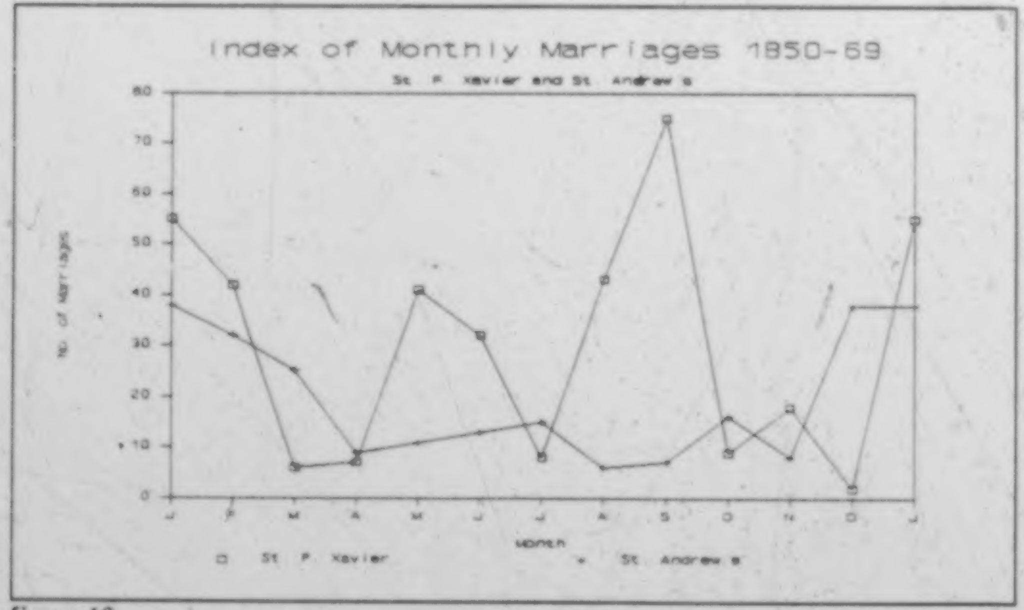

figure 10

parishes and over time. Throughout the whole period the average age at first marriage for women in St. Francois Xavier was 20.4 years. In St. Andrew's, women married, on average, at the age of 21.2 years of age. Metis men in both parishes married at a slightly older age (St. Francois Xavier - 23.4, St. Andrew's - 25.7). These ages are similar to the figures for Lower Canada during this period and to the North American average in general.[44] Although this is young by contemporary western European figures, they still fit into what has been termed the "European marriage pattern" of comparative late marriage, at least compared to the predominance of very young brides and grooms

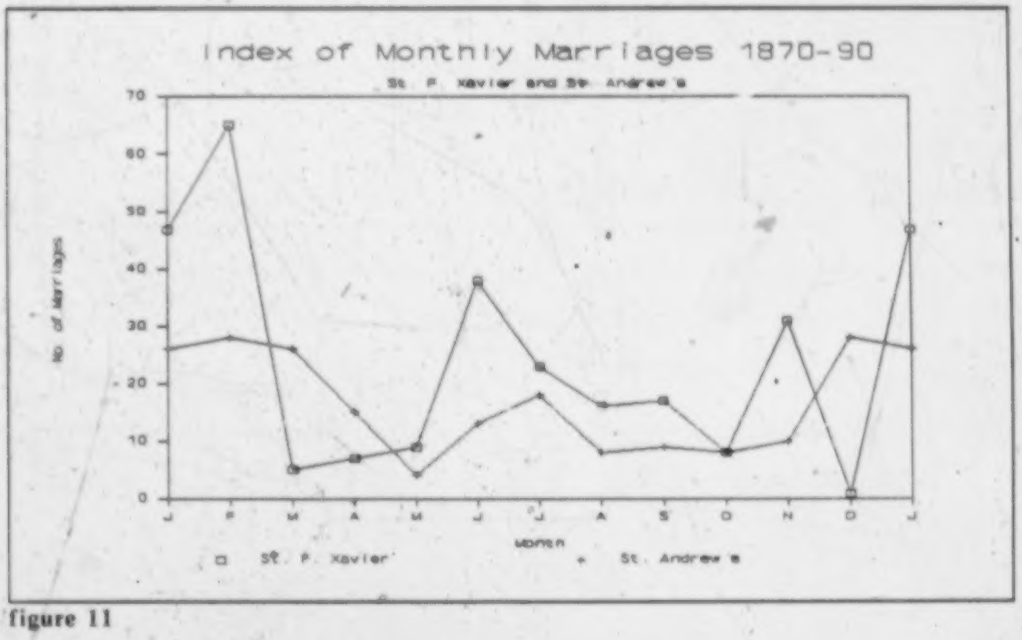

figure 11

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[44] Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, and Merchant, 51. For the parish of Sorel, Lower Canada, Greer lists the mean age of first marriage for women born in the period 1810-39 as 21.4 years of age, and mean age of men for the same category as 24.1 years of age. The mean marriage ages for the British colonial population in New Zealand from the 1850s to 1870s were slightly higher: 1850s - 26.8 years for men and 22.3 for women; 1860s - 27.2 years for men and 23 for women; 1870s - 27.9 years for men and 23 for women. See K. A. Pickens, "Marriage Patterns in a Nineteenth-Century British Colonial Population," Journal of Family History 5, No. 2 (Summer 1980): 183.

which characterized many Asian, East European, and South American populations.[45] In Red River, as in Lower Canada and the United States, the economic and ecological restraints on marriage were not as strong as in Europe, accounting for the slightly younger age at marriage. The relative abundance of land allowed more people to establish a new family without long delays while waiting for the devolution of their parents' property.

In both parishes studied, however, age at first marriage decreased after 1840 (see Tables 10 & 11). While this decrease is to some extent explained by the marriages of older couples in the period 1834-40, which simply solemnized already existing marriages by "custom of the country,"[46] it also reflected economic changes occurring in the Colony. Age at first marriage decreased even after 1850 when these older marriages had by and large stopped. The lowest age at first marriage for women in both parishes was in the decade of the 1860s -- the period of the greatest involvement of the Red River metis in the robe trade. When new opportunities opened in the fur trade after the 1840s, most of the remaining impediments to an early marriage disappeared, as those metis involved in the buffalo-robe trade benefitted from the familial labour force acquired through marriage. According to Peter Erasmus who was in the North West in 1864, early marriages were the custom of the times. "Most young women were married before they were twenty-one years of age. Girls were considered marriageable at sixteen years."[47] Again the rising average age at first marriage for St. Andrew's men after 1859 would seem to indicate a different economic situation and different marriage strategy, in keeping with the migration of plains hunters and traders out of the parish to Portage.

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[45] Ibid., 52; J. Hajanal has estimated that the norm for Western European marriage ages to range from 23-26. See his "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," 101-43.

[46] After 1840 this type of retroactive marriage was less common, which would have had the effect of lowering the age at marriage to some extent.

[47] Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights, 172.

TABLE 10
Age at First Marriage - St. F. Xavier
1834-90

Date of Marr.	Male		Female	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
Before 1840	47	26.0	45	22.3
1840-49	61	23.3	71	20.1
1850-59	117	23.6	119	20.3
1860-69	145	23.5	163	19.8
1870-79	87	22.7	102	20.0
1880-90	70	22.4	88	21.3
Total	527	23.4	588	20.4

TABLE 11
Age at First Marriage - St. Andrew's
1834-90

Date of Marr.	Male		Female	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
Before 1840	79	29.0	72	22.3
1840-49	88	26.1	94	21.9
1850-59	76	24.5	80	20.9
1860-69	90	25.2	90	20.5
1870-79	84	24.7	86	20.7
1880-90	68	24.7	71	20.5
Total	485	25.7	493	21.2

The declining age at first marriage in both parishes also underscores the degree to which metis society in Red River was moving away from the norms of the fur trade which characterized the officer class of the Hudson's Bay Company. According to Jennifer Brown, "Of all the nineteenth-century British values that penetrated the fur trade country from the 1820s on, perhaps the most significant was the growing importance attached to the quest for upward mobility:" One of the concomitants of the emphasis on upward mobility in the fur trade, Brown argues, was the view that rising officers should delay marrying and choose more carefully. In turn, this led to a growing number of late marriages in the fur trade.[48] By the 1840s this could not have been further from the prevailing view in Red River metis society, differentiating the Hudson's Bay Company and old North West Company "gentlemen" from the metis in the parishes. A career in the buffalo-robe trade was enhanced by early marriage and success dependent on family labour.[49]

The difference between male marriage behaviour in the two parishes is underscored by the figures for time to remarry after widowhood. In St. Francois Xavier those widowers who remarried waited on average only slightly over two years before remarrying, while in St. Andrew's widowers waited almost four years (see Table 12). The difference between the waiting time for those widows who remarried in the two parishes was much less. Women in both parishes waited a good deal longer than men to remarry after being widowed. They waited on average almost five years before remarrying. In part this was due to inheritance customs among the metis. While there were no written laws on the matter, surviving wills and records of property division in the event of a male head of family dying intestate indicate that the land and buildings were invariably left to both the wife and children. If, however, the mother remarried, many wills stated that the widow forfeited her claim to the land and estate, with all going to the children.[51] This undoubtedly would have delayed remarriage and decreased the incidence of remarriage among women.

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[48] Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 148-149. .

[49] Brown argues further that the increase of late marriages in the fur trade had broader consequences as celibacy of the upwardly mobile was not particularly associated with sexual continence. The result, she argues, was increased illegitimacy and infanticide (p. 149-150). As we have already seen (see Table 7), illegitimacy was low in both parishes. For a discussion of infancticide see Chapter VIII.

TABLE 12
Interval in Months between Widowhood and Remarriage 1834-90

	St. F. Xavier		St. Andrew's	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
Male	53	29.6	32	46.0
Female	27	55.1	8[50]	57.3

Fertility and Family Size

The marriage patterns outlined above had specific implications for metis fertility and family size. The lower age at marriage for St. Francois Xavier metis as compared to St. Andrew's metis resulted in larger family sizes in that parish (see Table 15). In addition, the increase in the marriage rates in St. Francois Xavier (number marrying per 1000 population) in the 1850s and 1860s, a period of new economic activities, was translated into an increase in birth rates in these decades (see figure 14 and Tables 13 & 14). In short the metis family dynamics were directly affected in those communities which responded to these economic opportunities.

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[50] This number includes only those remarried widows for whom information on remarriage time was available. This information was very difficult to determine in St. Andrew's even through a detailed family reconstitution process. On second or third marriages, often the only information given about the widow was her married name. Her maiden name was seldom given nor were the names of her parents given. For this reason it was not possible to determine the interval between widowhood and remarriage for many widows in this parish.

[51] Many of these wills can be found in the Parish files compiled by the Department of the Interior to administer the patenting of parish lots under the Manitoba Act. In trying to determine clear legal title to property wills were often entered into evidence. Even when heads of family died intestate, the government took evidence on how property was customarily divided after death.

From the graphs of crude birth rates (figure 14) it is clear that the fertility regimes in the two parishes were somewhat different. The first thing to be explained, however, is the high birth rates in the period before 1840, particularly in St. Andrew's. These high rates which fall quickly are almost completely attributable to the circumstances of parish formation in this period. Since these birth rates are derived from the baptisms recorded in the respective parish registers, birth rates can be distorted by baptisms taking place long after birth.[52] In both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's parish records began to be kept only in 1834-35 when a good number of adults and younger children were baptised. This was especially the case before 1840 as priests tried to catch up with the baptism of the recently converted residents who had just moved into the Settlement with their children. It was a simple task to exclude the adult baptisms from the above calculations,[53] but it was not always possible to tell which children were baptised long after their birth. With migration into these parishes falling off after 1840, however, it is likely that few older children would have been baptised after 1840.

In St. Andrew's the crude birth rates remained fairly constant averaging 50.4 births per 1000 in the 1840s, 48.4 in the 1850s and 49.0 in the 1860s. This was roughly

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[52] The number of baptisms used in figures 12 to 14 were all baptisms recorded in the registers minus those identified as adult baptisms.

[53] Usually the register indicated if an adult was being baptised, or it was clear from the fact that the same person was married shortly thereafter. These baptisms were not used in the calculations.

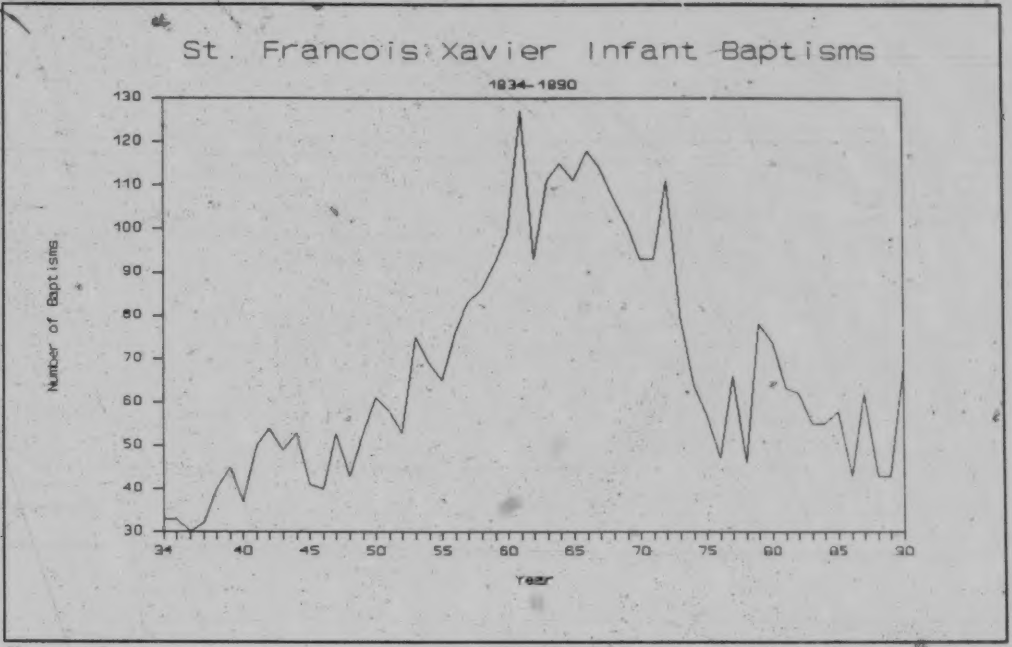

figure 12

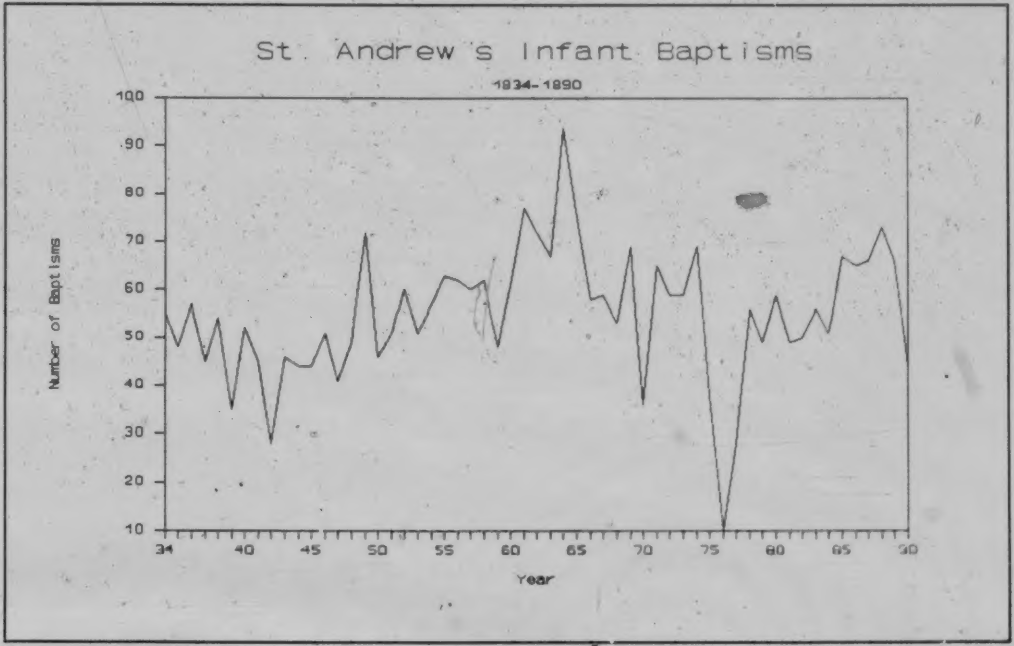

figure 13

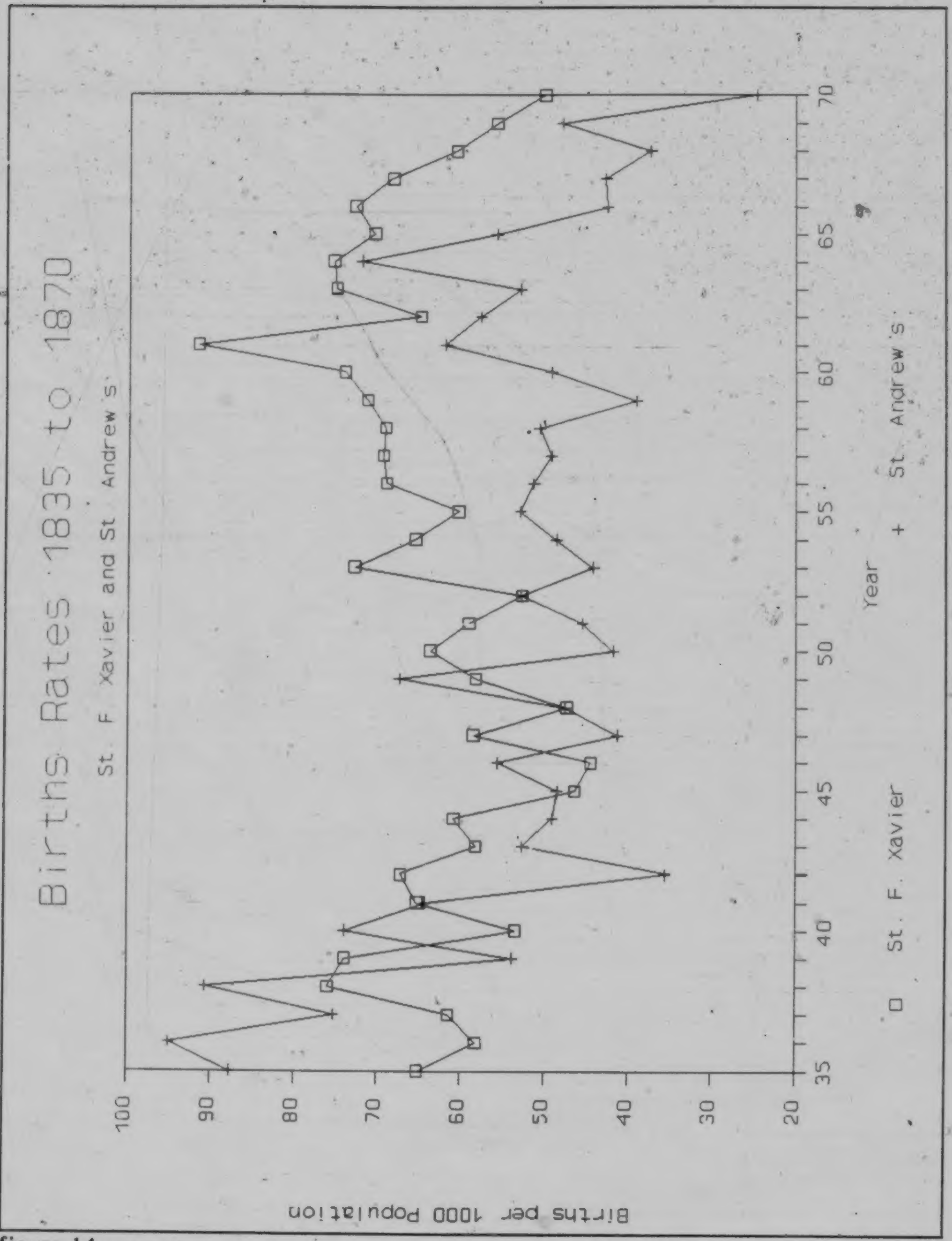
Births Rates 1835 to 1870
St. F Xavier and St. Andrew's
Births per 1000 Population
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
Year
□ St. F. Xavier
+ St. Andrew's

figure 14

equal to the birth rates of Lower Canada in the early 19th century. In St. Francois Xavier, on the other hand there was a distinct increase in birth rates after 1850. In the 1840s birth rates averaged 57.0 per 1000, climbing to 66.3 in the 1850s, and 68.5 in the 1860s -- rates much higher than those of St. Andrew's, Lower Canada and western Europe.

These trends are seen a little more clearly when births are broken down by the date of marriage and the age of women bearing children derived from reconstituted families (see Tables 13 & 14). These figures emphasize the increase in births to couples marrying in the period 1840-1860. It is also interesting to note while St. Andrew's birth rates are not as high as those of St. Francois Xavier, they also increase among couples marrying in the period 1840-60.

TABLE 13
Mean Number of Births to Women by Date of Marriage and Age of Women - St. Francois Xavier[54]

AGE	<1840	1840-49	1850-59	1860-69
15-19	.36	.41	.52	.18
20-24	.78	1.27	1.1	.99
25-29	.82	1.42	1.28	1.06
30-34	.79	1.14	.91	.63
35-39	.67	.86	.61	.41
40-44	.47	.57	.22	.17
45-49	.15	.10	.10	.01

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[54] This table only goes up to 1870 because these figures are calculated from "completed" families -- that is families in which the mother reached 45 years of age. Since the study ended in 1890 and because many families moved out of the parish after 1870, very few women marrying after 1870 reached 45, resulting in too few completed families to make the figures meaningful.

TABLE 14
Mean Number of Births to Women by Date of Marriage and Age of Women - St. Andrew's

AGE	<1840	1840-49	1850-59	1860-69
15-19	.13	.28	.24	.11
20-24	.46	.94	.98	.79
25-29	.50	.99	1.07	.74
30-34	.58	.73	.81	.56
35-39	.44	.61	.50	.40
40-44	.26	.36	.28	.16
45-49	.10	.08	.07	.25

TABLE 15
Mean Number of Children Per Completed Family By Parish and Marriage Period

Marriage Period	St. Andrew	St. Francois X.
Before 1840	4.2	6.5
1840-49	5.9	8.2
1850-59	5.9	6.2
1860-69	4.2	3.6

Given these figures one could expect larger metis families in St. Francois Xavier than in St. Andrew's. On average St. Francois Xavier families had 2-3 more children than the families in St. Andrew's. This holds true for all periods prior to 1870 except for the period 1860-69. The average number of children born to St. Francois Xavier couples who married in this decade is lower than the number for St. Andrew's couples. This is explained to a great degree by the fact that many of the St. Francois Xavier couples marrying in this decade were eliminated from the calculations. Since calculations were made from completed families only, that is families in which the mother had reached the age of 45, all those metis families who had migrated out of the parish before this were not included in the calculations. And the 1860s and 1870s were periods of very high emigration from St. Francois Xavier. It was a time when many metis families involved in the buffalo-robe trade opted for permanent wintering on the plains. Thus precisely those families with the most incentive for large families were eliminated from the calculations for the 1860s. Among those couples from St. Francois Xavier who married between the ages of 15-24 and who remained in the parish until the mother reached 45, family size averaged 9-12 children. St. Andrew's families in the same category averaged 7-10 children.

There was both change in the demographic regime of Red River between the 1830s and 1890, and variation between the two communities. At the beginning of the study period, Red River metis communities could be described as being subject to a pre-industrial or peasant demographic regime essentially similar to that of Lower Canada or Western Europe. Age at marriage was a bit lower and fertility a bit higher in Red River, but this was due to the relative abundance of land. By the late 1840s this pattern had begun to change in St. Francois Xavier as a result of economic changes related to new opportunities in the fur trade. Marriage formerly conducted in winter now increasingly took place in the spring or summer months to facilitate the practice of wintering on the plains nearer the buffalo. In addition, the age at marriage dropped while marriage and birth rates increased after the 1840s resulting in larger families. The increased opportunities in the fur trade at this time removed the disincentives to early marriage present earlier (need for land, implements, farm animals). As well the intensive labour needed for the buffalo-robe trade (usually familial) provided incentives for marriage and larger families.

These developments did not occur with the same magnitude in the parish of St. Andrew's. After the 1840s St. Andrew's economy and fertility regime increasingly began to diverge from that of St. Francois Xavier. Continuing to rely on a peasant subsistence agriculture much longer than the St. Francois Xavier metis, there were fewer reasons for earlier marriage and large families. Marriage and birth rates were lower in this parish and families were generally smaller.

After 1870 other factors intervened to further alter demographic patterns. The continued involvement in the buffalo-robe trade necessitated permanent emigration after 1870, while Canadian immigration into the province of Manitoba led to the subdivision and even disintegration of some of the old Red River parishes.[55] The beginning of commercial agriculture also made continued residence on the narrow parish lots uneconomical, and many metis left to farm on homesteads.

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[55] In 1872 Abraham Cowley reported that, "it is a source of much grief and annoyance that the old established Congregations of the Church of England should be disturbed and broken up in the way they are by sectarianism, nor is their action confined to the settlement." CMS Records, I.C., C1./M8, pt.3 (reel 6) Letter of Abr. Cowley to Sec., March 22, 1872, 167. In St. Andrew's Rev. Gardiner reported that his parish had been divided into three sections for elections, education and that this had divided and unsettled his parishioners. CMS Records, I.C., C1./M8 pt.3 (Reel 6) Letter of J. P. Gardiner to Rev. Venn, November 28, 1871, 254. In Portage the Anglican Church was, according to Henry George, "decaying." It was still supported by the majority of the metis but incoming Canadians were all supporting the Wesleyan, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches. CMS Records, I.C., Class C, C1./M8, pt. 3 (Reel 6) Letter of Henry George to Rev. Venn, April 22, 1872, 186.

Chapter VIII

Crisis Mortality and Structural Mortality in St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's, 1834-1890

Mortality, or the incidence of death, like fertility, was one of the basic determinants that governed the rate of growth of communities in Red River. A detailed examination of this phenomenon not only illuminates the impact of epidemic diseases on metis populations, but tells us something about the economic and social evolution of the Red River metis communities being studied. In particular, crises in mortality in the mid 1840s and early 1870s were very disruptive occurrences. An epidemic of measles in 1845-46 played a role in eroding faith in the Colony's governing elite, and the high mortality of the early 1870s had an influence on the dispersal of the metis from Red River.

In pre-industrial populations, mortality rates are generally high, but the number of deaths fluctuate dramatically from one year to the next with unusually large numbers occurring in occasional demographic crises. The extent of mortality fluctuation over time within the pre-industrial world depended on social, economic, political, and environmental conditions in local areas that affected the response of populations to climatic conditions, food shortages, famine, diseases, epidemics and socio-political disturbances. But if some of the most important influences on mortality were outside the control of pre-industrial societies (because of the inability to protect themselves against disease by medical and public health measures) this does not mean that mortality levels were not greatly influenced by social and economic conditions. E. A. Wrigley argues that:

> On the contrary the level of real income enjoyed by a population played a great part in determining its death rate. Abundant food, clothing and warm dwellings can cause a vast improvement in mortality even when medical knowledge is slight, while conversely those who face the rigour of winter in rags, those who live with their families in damp and chilly hovels or have no shelter at all, are much more likely to fall victim to disease and, having done so, to succumb.[1]

These pre-industrial mortality patterns began to change in some areas in Europe as early as the mid-eighteenth century with the beginning of industrialization, and followed in the greater part of Europe throughout the nineteenth century. Several important features of these new mortality patterns distinguished them from mortality patterns in the pre-industrial period. During the Industrial Revolution, particularly beginning in the nineteenth century, mortality reached low levels that were unprecedented. Along with this decline in mortality levels, a second related feature of the industrial period was the virtual elimination of the enormous mortality fluctuations that characterized the pre-industrial world. This was the result of the almost complete absence of crises associated with harvest failures and epidemic diseases. This development followed improvements in communications and transportation that facilitated transferring harvest surpluses to deficient areas. In addition, the beginning of the agricultural revolution broadened the variety of crops available. With these developments people began to overcome systematically the natural forces which caused harvest failures and were better able to ward off sickness.[2]

By and large, the mortality patterns in both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's corresponded to the pre-industrial pattern of wildly fluctuating mortality rates and periodic crises.[3] There was, however, a good deal of variation over time, and not in the manner that might have been expected. Infant mortality rates, a good gauge of the stage of socio-economic development (closely related to health conditions, availability of medical care, and food intake), were much lower in Red River than in pre-industrial peasant societies in Europe or even Lower Canada. Additionally, these infant mortality rates increased dramatically in both parishes in the 1870s and 1880s, a period traditionally associated with the introduction of industrial capitalism, and the beginnings of the agricultural revolution in the region. There were also significant variations in structural mortality between parishes, indicating different social and economic conditions in the various parishes of Red River. Because crisis mortality, as occasioned by epidemics, is quite separate from structural mortality -- that is the patterns of the normal occurrence of death -- the two will be examined separately.

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[1] E. A. Wrigley, Population and History. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969), 129.

[2] This reasoning follows the argument made by E. A. Wrigley in his book Population and History, 165-169, that the agricultural revolution was an 18th and 19th century phenomenon. It should be noted this has not been accepted by all scholars. Eric Kerridge in The Agricultural Revolution (1966), argues that the agricultural revolution in England took place in the 16th and 17th century.

Crisis Mortality and Social Order

Crisis mortality in Red River usually coincided with the outbreak of disease. Although a good deal has been written about the effects of European diseases on native populations,[4] little has been written about the specific effects of disease on the metis, except to observe that the effects on the metis were much less destructive than on the Indian.[5] Additionally, scholars have done little analysis on the effects of disease on the Red River Settlement. Yet even a cursory examination of the documents demonstrates

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[3] The levels of crisis mortality in Red River, however, were much lower than those in pre-industrial Europe. This was to some extent due to the low population density which created less pressure on the food producing capacity of the society. When crops failed, Red River settlers could in most years rely on the hunt and fisheries.

[4] For a survey of the spread of diseases in the Western Interior see Arthur J. Ray, "Diffusion of Diseases in the Western Interior of Canada, 1830-1850," The Geographical Review (1976): 139-157.

[5] The usual reason given for this discrepancy was that the Metis' European ancestry provided them with more natural immunity than the Indian.

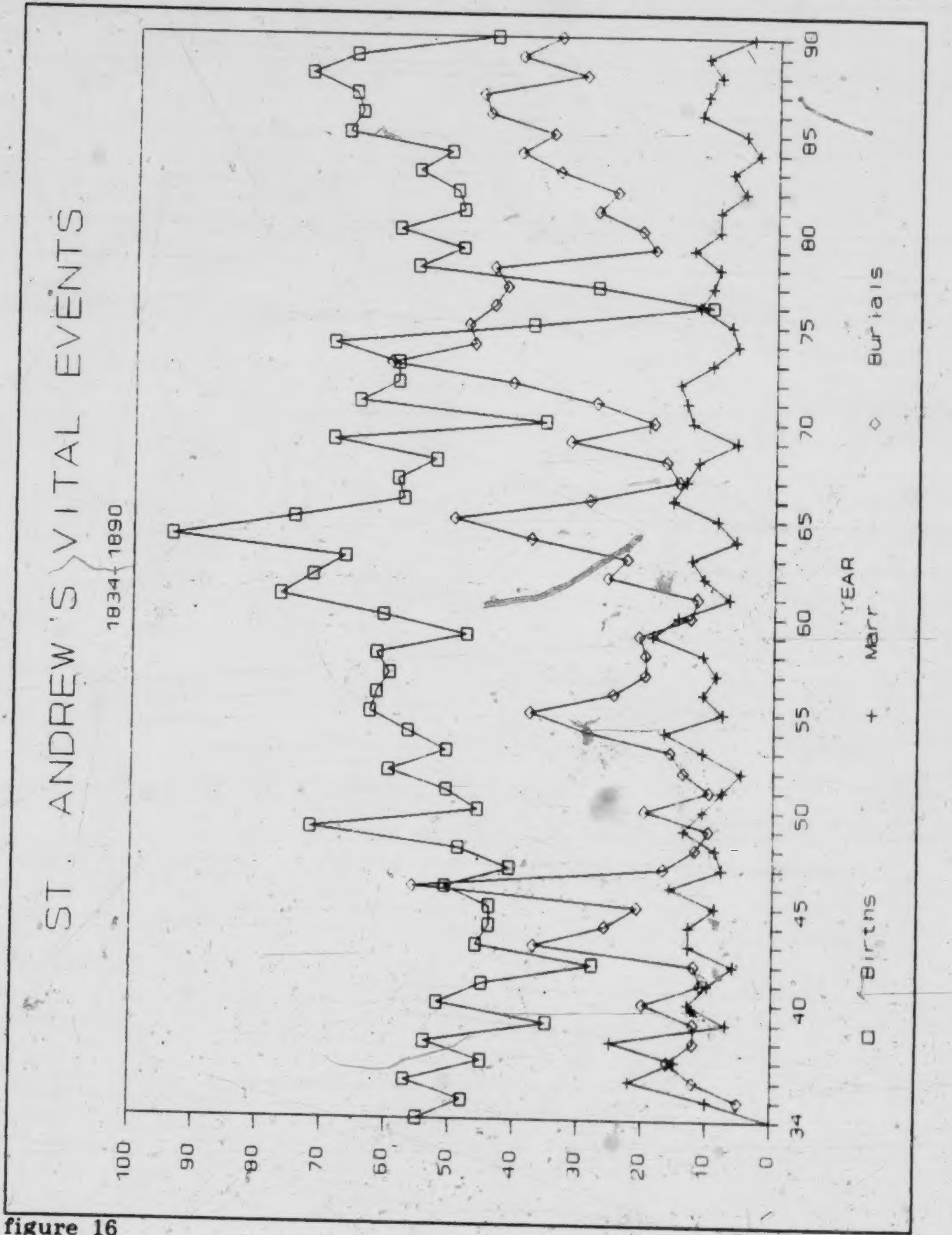
ST. ANDREW'S VITAL EVENTS
1834 - 1890
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
34
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
90
YEAR
Births
Marr
Burials

figure 16

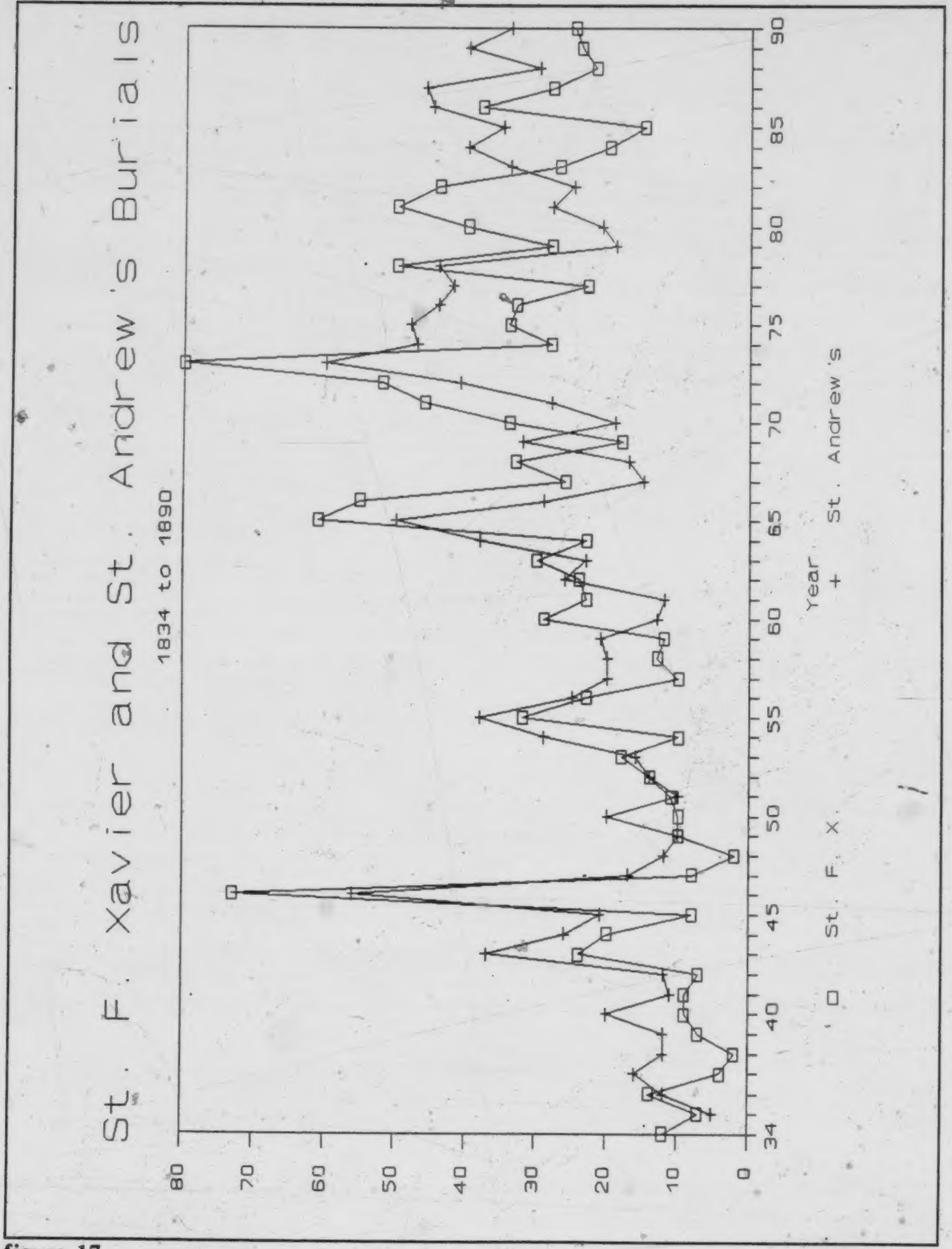
St. F. Xavier and St. Andrew's Burials
1834 to 1890
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
34
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
90
Year
□ St. F. X
+ St. Andrew's

figure 17

that European diseases did affect the metis in epidemic proportions, and that these epidemics had a significant impact on the Red River Settlement.

An examination of burials in the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier (see figures 15 & 16) indicates a number of years of high mortality: 1843-46, 1855, 1865, 1873, and 1878. The peaks previous to 1870 indicate recurring crises of varying degrees, about every ten years. This general pattern is in keeping with evidence that shows that infectious diseases return in intervals of five to ten years but in lessening severity as the proportion of persons with effective immunity increases. With the slow build up of immunity, these diseases increasingly become childhood diseases.[6] These ten-year intervals of high mortality, moreover, were almost identical in both parishes. The parish-village communities of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were separated geographically and culturally, but mortality figures were very similar in crisis years (see figure 17). This indicated that these epidemics were settlement wide and could be expected to have settlement-wide implications.

Mortality crises in Red River, as in most pre-industrial populations, were affected by both infectious diseases and subsistence crises. The nature of the subsistence economy of the Red River metis, based as it was on the hunt and the farm, meant that subsistence crises would come into play only when both the hunt and the farm failed in the same year and the failures were settlement-wide. Most instances of mortality crises before the 1860s were disease related, but crop failures did play a role. An example of the differential effect of disease given different subsistence conditions, occurred in the period 1835-37. In June of 1835, Rev. William Cockran noted that an influenza epidemic had hit the colony.

> An epidemic rages of the most alarming nature. It seizes the old and middle aged, the young and the infant; all are groaning and all prostrate under its evil influence. . . . The symptoms all are similar, soreness of throat, excruciating pains in the chest; debility and pains in the limbs,

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[6] William H. McNeill, Plagues and People (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), 116.

> violent headache, and earache; a discharge of pus from the ears; deafness; delirium, inflammation of the eyes; intermittent fever; and severe cough and in some accompanied with expectoration of blood.[7]

The influenza had been carried to the Red River Settlement by the York boat brigades and boats travelling to Red River and the interior from Norway House and York Factory.[8] The sickness in the Colony carried into the winter and spring of 1836 with most deaths occurring in 1836. While the disease affected all segments of the population, deaths occurred largely among children under five years of age and were not extensive.[9] The disease seems to have died out in the summer of 1836, but reappeared in St. Andrew's and the Indian Settlement in 1837, without affecting St. Francois Xavier to any noticeable extent.

The reason for this difference probably had something to do with crop failures in St. Andrew's and the Indian Settlement in the summer and fall of 1836, occasioning a general want of provisions in the two communities in the winter and spring of 1837.[10] In St. Francois Xavier, the crops do not seem to have been affected as adversely,[11] and the metis of this parish were probably better able than the metis of St. Andrew's to shift their provisioning needs to the fall buffalo hunt. At any rate, when influenza appeared again in 1837, the death toll in St. Andrew's rose above 1835-36 levels, whereas few deaths were recorded in St. Francois Xavier.

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[7] CMS Records, Cockran's Journal, June 21, 1835. I.C., L.B. II, (Reel 3), 113.

[8] A. J. Ray, "Diffusion of Diseases," 142-145.

[9] Parish registers in St. Francois Xavier recorded 14 deaths in 1836, with 12 recorded in St. Andrew's.

[10] CMS Records, Letter of Cockran to Sec., August 2, 1837. I.C., L.B. II (Reel 3). According to Alexander Ross, early frosts in August of 1836 had destroyed many of the crops in the various parishes, and cold weather through the fall destroyed the fall fisheries. Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 188.

[11] Correspondence of the parish priest and Bishop Provencher during this period do not mention crop failures at St. F. X.

The next period of higher mortality occurred between 1843 and 1846. In 1843 the Settlement was hit by both whooping cough and scarlet fever. Whooping cough, which appeared among school children in the spring of 1843, gave way to scarlet fever by late summer.[12] By December of that year, there was a general state of anxiety throughout the Settlement as the disease spread to all parishes and affected people of all ages.[13] The disease apparently had been brought to the Settlement by Indians from Lake Superior in the summer of 1843 and lasted until the spring of 1844. Scarlet fever affected large numbers in Red River, and in St. Andrew's, three-quarters of all residents suffered. Rev. Cockran noted:

> I have frequently seen 4 & 5 laying in the same room prostrated under its influence, sometimes as many as six. The disease has been very infectious in some cases. All members of my own family have had it . . . which brought them to the very verge of the grave. . . . The mortality has been considerable in the five months past, and the fever is still raging. On its heels is mumps, bilious fever, and influenza following, so that I never before witnessed so much sickness.[14]

In all, well over 100 persons died of scarlet fever, many of them children.[15]

This outbreak of scarlet fever was followed by another fever in August of 1844, which, according to William Cockran, spread quickly through the Settlement. Once one member of a family got the disease, all became infected. In one instance all eight persons in a family were confined to bed at the same time, four of whom died.[16] Then, in the spring of 1845, influenza again broke out in the Settlement, and by December of that year illness was still prevalent in most parishes.[17] All of this set the stage for the first major epidemic in Red River in 1846.

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[12] This was probably the first epidemic of Scarlet Fever in the West for at least a generation, because most people affected had readily identifiable symptoms. A. J. Ray, "Diffusion of Diseases," 151.

[13] John Charles to James Hargrave, Red River, December 2, 1843. G. P. de T. Glazebrook, ed., The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-43 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), 452-453. CMS Records, Letter of Smithurst to Sec., December 22, 1843. I.C., L.B. III (Reel 4), 272-273.

[14] CMS Records, Letter of Cockran to Sec., April 31, 1844. I.C., L.B. III, 270.

[15] Letter of Thomas Bunn, August 7, 1844, quoted in Denis Bayley, A Londoner in Rupert's Land: Thomas Bunn of the Hudson's Bay Company (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1969), 75. In 1843-44 66% of the deaths in St. Francois Xavier were of children under five years of age. In St. Andrew's aproximately 50% of all deaths were of children under five.

The epidemic began as an outbreak of influenza in January of 1846, and by May and June measles had spread throughout the Colony. This combination of diseases, affecting a population which had never been exposed to measles before, resulted in high death rates among all ages of the population.[18] Resistance to disease was further impaired by a scarcity of provisions in the Colony, as well as the poor health over the previous two years. Not only did the hunts fail in 1846, but the crops were also a failure.[19]

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[16] CMS Records, Letter of Cockran to Sec., July 30, 1845. I.C., L.B. III (Reel 4), 531.

[17] Ibid. The identification of diseases in the documents is usually fairly non-specific. There were few trained medical personnel in the Colony to diagnose these diseases. Influenza is a viral infection with an incubation period of one to four days. Symptoms vary, but individuals generally experience fever during the first twenty-four hours and suffer from inflammation of the respiratory and alimentary canal. General body aches and weakness are common. See A. J. Ray, "Diffusion of Diseases," 142.

[18] During 1846, the crude death rate for St. Francois Xavier was 81 deaths per 1000 pop., while St. Andrew's death rate was 61 deaths per 1000 population. While these levels were very high for the Red River Settlement (these were the highest levels reached in the history of the Colony), they were low by European figures in the pre-industrial era. In crisis years local populations throughout Europe experienced crude death rates as high as 200, 300 and even 400 per 1000 population. E. A. Wrigley, Population and History, 62-63.

[19] CMS Records, Letter of Smithurst to Sec., November 18, 1846. I.C., L.B. IV (Reel 4), 196-197. Smithurst reported that the wheat crop was a general failure in 1846, and the potato crop was poor resulting in a scarcity of provisions. Bishop Provencher reported that both the hunts and crops were poor in 1846. Letter of Provencher to the Council of the Society of the Prop. of the Faith, Lyon, 1846. Alexander Christie writing to H. Fisher in March of 1847, noted that the crop of 1846 was a complete failure. A. Christie to H. Fisher, March 2, 1847, AASB.

Measles had been brought to the Settlement from the United States by a number of "vagrant hunters." It first infected the Indians at the White Horse Plain, and by June almost every Indian in the Colony was ill, from whence it spread to the rest of the settlement.[20] The extent of the epidemic was such that, according to Alexander Ross, the Settlement was overcome by terror. Although measles usually only attacks children under the age of fifteen, it becomes especially virulent when exposed to a virgin population -- a population never before exposed to the disease. In such a case, measles will infect a high proportion of all ages, often more than 90%, and will, moreover, be quite deadly.[21]

This is precisely what happened in Red River. Observers pointed out that the disease had never been seen in the Settlement before, and that mortality because of the disease was very high, affecting all age groups.[22] Mortality was especially prevalent when complications set in after the measles. As one of these observers noted,

> The disease is very uncommon here, and hence the frightful extent to which it prevails. . . . The last two months have been a time of greatest anxiety and trial that I have experienced since I entered missionary work. . . . There is another disease following the measles which is far more fatal. It is a kind of dysentery or bloody flux and has carried off 1/6 of the whole population at the R.C. Settlement on the WHP.[23]

The epidemic hit almost every house in the Settlement, and for those affected it seemed like a plague of biblical proportions.[24] From June 18 to August 2 deaths averaged seven a day, or 321 in all, representing 1/16 of the entire population. Of those who died, 1/6 were Indian, 2/3 metis, and 1/6 European.[25] In both the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier, deaths exceeded births in 1846; in St. Francois Xavier the deaths were almost double the number of births that year (see figures 15 & 16). While approximately half of all deaths were of children under five years of age, mortality was high among all ages.[26]

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[20] CMS Records, Cockran's Journal, May 24, 1846. I.C., L.B. IV (Reel 4), 68. Alexander Begg, The Red River Settlement, 362-363.

[21] A. J. Ray, "Diffusion of Diseases," 151.

[22] CMS Records, Cockran Journal, May 24, 1846. I.C., L.B. II; Report of Mr. Smithurst, August 1, 1846. I.C., L.B. IV, 101.

[23] CMS Records, Report of Mr. Smithurst, August 1, 1846. According to the parish registers of St. Francois Xavier 73 persons died in 1846. The population of the parish in that year was 899. By this reckoning 8.12% or 1/12 of the population died that year.

[24] Alexander Ross in his Red River Settlement, uses this analogy.

The extent of this epidemic and the mortality associated with it almost surely had some social effects. While it is difficult to show any clear cause and effect between disease, mortality, and social disorder in Red River, studies of epidemics in other cultures have shown that they have often had a disruptive impact on social and cultural patterns. In particular these were often manifested as breakdowns of public order.[27] According to William H. McNeill,

> Civilized Diseases when let loose among a population that lacked any prior exposure to the germ in question quickly assumed drastic proportions, killing off old and young alike instead of remaining a perhaps serious, but still tolerable, disease affecting small children.
>
> The disruptive effect of such an epidemic is likely to be greater than the mere loss of life, severe as that may be. Often survivors are demoralized, and lose all faith in inherited custom and belief which had not prepared them for such a disaster.[28]

In Red River the crisis mortality of 1843-46 must have had some impact on the free trade controversy of the 1840s. Most recent historians who have dealt with the free trade crisis of this time and the Sayer Trial of 1849, which, in effect, signalled the end of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, have seen it almost solely in economic and political terms.[29] They stress the competition of American fur traders and the restless energy of independent traders in the Colony, but they pay little attention to social and demographic factors. Although there is no doubt that the chief repercussions of the Sayer trial were economic, opening the fur trade to the metis, some of the causes of the unrest and the breakdown of the moral authority of the Hudson's Bay Company had to do with the unprecedented death toll of these years -- the scale of which no doubt undercut respect for traditional authority. The 1840s were years in which younger men openly defied not only the Company's monopoly, but also the settlement's justice system and court officers.[30] Alexander Ross, while overstating the case slightly, caught the mood of desperation of that time.

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[25] Ibid., 363.

[26] While there was some slight variation between parishes, in both St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier about 50% of those dying were under the age of five. Thirty percent of those dying were between the ages of 6 and 19, and about twenty per cent were 20 years or older.

[27] William H. McNeill, Plagues and People (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), 53-59.

[28] Ibid., 61.

> In no country, either of Europe or America in modern times -- not under the severest visitation of cholera -- has there been so great a mortality as in Red River on the present occasion. . . . Hardly anything to be seen but the dead on their way to their last home, nothing to be heard but the tolling of bells, nothing talked about but the sick, the dying, and the dead.[31]

This sense of desperation, brought on by the high death toll, seems to have resulted in a growing discontent and hastened a generational transfer already underway.[32] Even after the mortality rate dropped during 1847 and 1848, clergymen noted that young people were becoming increasingly wild.[33] The culmination of this agitation and the flouting of authority, was the armed demonstration outside the courthouse at the Sayer Trial which forced Colony leaders and the Hudson's Bay Company to back down on their enforcement of the Company's monopoly in the fur trade.

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[29] Irene Spry, "The 'Private Adventurers' of Rupert's Land." W. L. Morton, "Introduction," London Correspondence Inward, Eden Colvile, 1849-1852. Alvin C. Gluek, Minnesota and Manifest Destiny.

[30] Peter Garrioch, one of these young men, was openly contemptuous of the older generation who presided over the General Court, and who were trying to curtail his private trading. Even Cuthburt Grant, once the leader of the Plains Metis and now magistrate of the White Horse Plains Judicial District, had lost most of his influence among these younger Metis. See PAM, Peter Garrioch Journal, Part V, "Home Journal 1845-47," and NAC, Warre Papers, Vol. 14, 1845 Diary.

[31] Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 363.

[32] Peter Garrioch in his journal of the time mentions the death of three older settlers during 1845-46: W.H. Cook (one of the pre-eminent men in the Colony) David Harcus, and Magnus Spence.

The next incidence of epidemic-like disease occurred about a decade later in 1854-55. Whooping cough broke out in St. Andrew's in the fall of 1854, and by December had spread to the rest of the parishes. Deaths were again very frequent, but nearly all fatalities were among the very young.[34] Of the 43 deaths in St. Andrew's between December 1854 and April 1855, 40 (93%) were of children five years old or younger. Of the 18 deaths in St. Francois Xavier during the same time, 14 (78%) were of children five years old or younger.[35] The lower mortality rate, and the concentration of deaths among the very young made this outbreak much less disruptive than the one in 1846.[36] It merited almost no mention by commentators and historians of the day.

Much more disruptive were the higher mortality levels in the 1860s (particularly 1864-66) and the 1870s. In both 1873 and 1877 deaths exceeded births in St. Francois Xavier, and in St. Andrew's deaths exceeded births in 1873, '75, '76, and '77. Accordingly, such one could characterize these years, particularly the 1870s, as crisis years for these two metis communities, and for the "old order" in general.

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[33] CMS Records, Letter of Rev. James to Sec., August 2, 1848. I.C., L.B. IV (Reel 5), 87.

[34] CMS Records, Letter of the Bishop of Rupert's Land to Rev. Venn, December 19, 1854. I.C., L.B. V, (Reel 5), 598. Letter of Cockran to Venn, December 29, 1854, L.B. V (Reel 5), 605.

[35] Parish Registers

[36] The crops of 1854-56 were very good, ensuring that the effects of the disease were not made worse by a subsistence crisis. For comments on the crops see HBCA, D4/75, Simpson's Report, June 29, 1855, fo. 407-408d. CMS Records, Journal of A. W. Kirkby, 1856-57. I.C., C.1/O (Reel 18).

The poor farming years of the 1860s helped lower the resistance of settlers in Red River to disease. The Nor'Wester noted in late 1865, when sickness was sweeping through the Settlement, that the disease had been helped by the meagre diet of the Colony.[37] The outbreak of disease in 1864 had been preceded by two years of very poor crops. The spring of 1862 was a period of starvation in the Colony, as dozens of people daily besieged the Hudson's Bay Company offices in Fort Garry for food and seed grain. The Company, unwilling to see people starve, distributed seed grain throughout the Settlement in 1862.[38] Despite this aid, crops continued to deteriorate in the 1860s. The summer of 1864 was extremely hot and dry, so that a large part of the crops were burned. This was made worse by the arrival of great swarms of grasshoppers, which were to plague the Settlement almost yearly for the next ten years.[39]

In the late fall of 1864 scarlet fever and typhus broke out in St. Andrew's with a good number of deaths among the very young.[40] By the summer of 1865, conditions had deteriorated considerably with reports that dysentery and typhus were spreading throughout the Colony.[41] The Nor'Wester reported that,

> deaths in relation to the population occurring just now, are alarming, and resembles the mortality occasioned by some fearful disorder. Out of a community of a few hundred souls on the other side of the Red River [St. Boniface], one, two, or three have been buried daily of late, and on our side many deaths have occurred . . . . The disease which occasions most part of this great mortality is that known as the Bloody Flux, a

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[37] "The Prevailing Illness," Nor'Wester, October 23, 1865.

[38] PAM, Lane Papers, McTavish to Lane, April 19, 1862, April 26, 1862. J.J. Hargrave, Red River, 219.

[39] "The Heated Term," Nor'Wester, August 18, 1864. "The Grasshopper Invasion," Nor'Wester, July 4, 1865.

[40] CMS Records, Journal of James Hunter, C1./O, I.C. (Reel 18).

[41] PAM, Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, 36. Nor'Wester, October 23, 1865. J. J. Hargrave, Red River, 349.

disease insidious in its approach and difficult in its treatment.[42]

The disease had been transmitted to the Red River Settlement from Fort Prince of Wales, where the disease had broken out in 1863. In Red River the disease proved fatal to a large number in the settlement, particularly among the poorer classes, who lived in single room and poorly ventilated houses.[43] While the disease relented with the onset of cold weather in October and November, it was only the first act in what was to become an almost decade-long subsistence crisis. Crops for the rest of the 1860s were poor or mediocre, and in 1868 both the hunt and crops were dismal failures, necessitating the formation of a colony-wide Relief Committee. This was the biological and economic context in which the Riel Resistance of 1869-70 occurred.

This provisioning crisis continued after 1870 and Manitoba's entry into Confederation. The main cause for the crop failures in the early 1870s continued to be the yearly appearance of grasshoppers. In 1870 some farmers decided to forgo seeding their crops altogether because of the presence of grasshopper eggs.[44] This continued each year and in 1873 it was reported that grasshoppers had destroyed all the grain crops in the Colony.[45] According to John Grisdale of St. Andrew's, not a single ear of grain was harvested in the parish.[46] This situation was made worse by the declining returns from the hunt, as all organized buffalo hunts out of Red River had ended by this time. By the Spring of 1874, Father Kavanagh, the parish priest at St. Francois Xavier, reported that it was almost impossible to purchase pemmican any more. Some traders were still coming into the Settlement with the processed buffalo meat, but it was almost immediately snatched up at high prices.[47]

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[42] "The Prevailing Illness," Nor'Wester, October 23, 1865.

[43] J. J. Hargrave, Red River, 349.

[44] CMS Records, Letter of Archd. Cowley to Sec., June 29, 1870, I.C., L.B. VI, pt. 2 (Reel 6), 208.

[45] CMS Records, Letter of the Bishop of Rupert's Land to the CMS, June 30, 1873, I.C., C./M Mission Book, part 4 (Reel 6), 77.

[46] CMS Records, Letter of John Grisdale to Sec., November 4, 1873, C1./O (Reel 26).

By 1873 the situation had reached starvation levels in Red River. Mortality had risen steadily since 1870, until by 1873 deaths equalled or outnumbered births in both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's. Rev. John Grisdale reported that mortality in St. Andrew's was higher than it had ever been before.

> Many infants have died from a sort of whooping cough which had been going around. . . . A few of the oldest settlers have passed from this world and some have been cut off in the prime of their life.[48]

As in 1846, epidemic disease coincided with a subsistence crisis, and as in 1846, mortality affected all segments of a the population.[49]

While grasshoppers disappeared and better crops returned in 1876, this did not, as W.L. Morton asserted, "make the grasshopper years but one among many memories of pioneer hardship."[50] For the metis these were pivotal years. Mortality levels dropped somewhat after 1873, but they remained very high (particularly infant mortality rates -- see Table 17); reaching crisis levels in St. Andrew's in 1875-77, and in St. Francois Xavier in 1878. Clearly the eclipse of the old order in Manitoba, and the dispersal of the metis in both St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier, were related to this crisis mortality. Many metis farmers, in the crisis times of 1874-76, had taken out seed-grain mortgages to try and continue to farm. Many were never able to pay these back, and sold their river lot farms.[51] Suffering crop failures while trying to adjust to the new Ontario society streaming into Manitoba must have discouraged many. The unprecedented infant mortality rates of the 1870s speak volumes for the problems of cultural and socio-economic adjustment to the new society. The change from peasant agriculture to commercial grain farming was a difficult transition for the metis of both St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier, a transition many would not make. The effects of this socio-economic transition, along with earlier ones, are more clearly seen when the structural mortality of the two parishes is examined.

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[47] AASB, Kavanagh to Taché, 24 Mars 1874, T14020.

[48] CMS Records, Letter of John Grisdale to Sec., November 11, 1873. I.C., C1/M Mission Book, section 1 (Reel 7), 279.

[49] In St. Andrew's 50% of the deaths were among children five years of age or younger, 20% among those aged six to nineteen, and 30% to those twenty years of age or older. In St. Francois Xavier, 67% of the deaths were to those five or under, 20% of the deaths were to those six to nineteen, and 13% of the deaths twenty years or older.

[50] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, 175.

Structural Mortality

The structural mortality (normal incidence of death) of the two metis parishes studied has a number of anomalous features that make it difficult to typify. While the fluctuating mortality rates and periodic crises of Red River are typical of pre-industrial populations, its crude death rates (CDR) calculated by decade were low by Canadian standards for some decades. The CDR levels for the 1850s for both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were not equalled Canada-wide until 1900, lending more credence to the thesis that after the late 1840s, Red River experienced distinct socio-economic changes which improved the real income and quality of life of the metis. This can be seen more accurately by examining some other indices of mortality.

Another measure of mortality, considered to be the most sensitive indicator of social, economic and environmental conditions, is the infant mortality rate (IMR), which is the proportion of children born who die in their first year. By these standards both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were very healthy before 1870, when compared to other pre-industrial societies. Infant mortality rates among the British aristocracy, which in all likelihood had more favourable mortality patterns than the general population, fluctuated around 20% of all births (IMR=200) during the sixteenth and

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[51] PAM, Parish Lot Files. These files indicate that most Metis selling their parish lots in the late 1870s and 1880s had not paid off these mortgages, creating problems for the purchasers in patenting the land.

TABLE 16
Crude Death Rates
(Deaths per 1000 population)

Decade	Canada	St.F.X.	St.Andrew's
1834-1841	--	12.3	20
1841-1851	--	18.7	22.3
1851-1861	22	15.4	16.6
1861-1871	21	20.3	19.4
1871-1881	19	----[52]	----
1881-1891	18	----	----
1891-1901	16	----	----

TABLE 17
Infant Mortality 1834-90 -- St. F. Xavier and St. Andrew's
(per 1000 live births)

	St. Francois Xavier	St. Andrew's
1834-1839	84.5	30.6
1840-1849	80.3	99.6
1850-1859	76.6	85.7
1860-1869	88.8	124.1
1870-1879	224.5	275.1
1880-1890.	241.9	157.8

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[52] Crude death rates could not be calculated for individual parishes after 1870, because after this date it became impossible to calculate accurately the population of river lot parishes. After 1870, census districts were larger than the older parishes.

seventeenth centuries, dropping to 16% in the first half of the eighteenth century.[53] Red River even compared favourably to one of the healthiest English communities, Colyton (a small English parish) whose IMR fluctuated around 120-140 from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.[54] To some extent St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's low infant mortality rates before 1870 were a result of a low population density, which put less pressure on the food producing capacity of the environment. However, even when compared to the French-Canadian parish of Sorel, which had a similar population in 1800 to that of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's in the 1860s, Red River still had a much lower rate.[55]

TABLE 18
Infant Mortality -- Other Societies
(per 1000 live births)

Canada 1700-50	246
Canada 1920-21	102
Sorel (Lower Can.) 1780-1809	222
Sorel 1810-39	171
Colyton (England) 1750-1837	122-153
France 1850	170

This low infant mortality rate would also throw some doubt on Jennifer Brown's assertion that infanticide was increasing and reached a peak in Red River in the period from the 1830s to the 1850s. According to Brown, this infanticide was related less to privation than to social pressures and problems facing native women. Infanticide was related to the growing number of late marriages among fur trade officers in the 1830s and 1840s, who saw this as a means of upward mobility within the Hudson's Bay Company. This in turn apparently challenged the legitimacy of customary fur trade marriage. Native born wives of traders placed in new, uncertain and ambiguous social conditions in the Red River Settlement developed anxieties about the legitimacy of their marriages and children, and apparently infanticide was the occasional response to these stresses.[56] While it is quite possible that infanticide victims would not receive burial, and consequently would not show up in parish mortality statistics, Brown's claims do not hold up to other evidence. As shown in the last chapter, the period of the 1840s and 1850s were years when the age at marriage was declining (no evident tendency to late marriages), and birth and marriage rates were increasing as a whole.[57] By the late 1840s large families would seem to have been an advantage, given the new economic opportunities in the fur trade.

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[53] E. A. Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon, over three centuries," Daedalus 97 (Spring 1968): 570-71.

[54] Ibid., 571-572.

[55] See Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord, Merchant, 62-67.

Brown's evidence is based on a few isolated documents: James Hargrave's two letters in 1837, and a court case involving infanticide in 1853. In 1837 Hargrave, travelling through the Red River Settlement on his way to Canada, noted that the courts in the Colony were busy with cases of infanticide -- 16 having been reported and a few being found out.[58] This cannot be substantiated by court records since none survive from this period.[59] However, of the court records that do survive (those after 1844), only three cases deal with infanticide, two in the 1850s and one in the 1860s. The case which Brown uses, involved Jane Heckenberger, daughter of Hudson's Bay Company Factor W. Hemmings Cook, who was convicted of contriving and concealing the death of her daughter's natural child in 1852.[60] The harsh sentence given in this case -- death, commuted to two years in prison -- and the absence of more cases in the records of the General Quarterly Court between 1844 and 1870, would seem to indicate that infanticide was not publicly tolerated and that there were few cases after 1844. Governor Caldwell, when commuting the death sentence, noted that the crime of infanticide was not so frequent as it had been formerly.[61] Eden Colvile, who had presided over the trial, noted in a letter to London that this had been the only serious offence to come before him since he had arrived in Red River.[62]

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[56] Jennifer Brown, Strangers in Blood, 149-150.

[57] If Brown is correct that HBC officers, as a rule, were delaying marriage in this period, it would seem to indicate that metis society in Red River was increasingly diverging from the values and patterns of HBC officers. This challenges the notion or concept of any overarching "fur trade society" as delineated by Sylvia van Kirk in Women in the Fur Trade.

[58] Quoted in Brown, Strangers in Blood, 149.

The other recorded charge of infanticide to come before the court in the 1850s involved Eliza Duncan, the servant girl of William Ross. The case presented in 1854, involved a charge of wilful neglect of a new-born infant and manslaughter. A court-ordered postmortem, however, revealed that the child had been stillborn, and Duncan was released.[63] This case is particularly instructive in that it reflects back on the sixteen cases of infanticide Hargrave reported in 1837 -- that suspected cases could easily have been something else. Influenza was raging in St. Andrew's and the Indian Settlement in 1837 causing many deaths among young infants, some of which might have been mistaken for infanticide, as was the case with Eliza Duncan. The last reported case, involving Ellen Linklater in 1866, was no less ambiguous.[64] While there were no doubt some cases of infanticide, evidence does not support the claim that these were increasing in the 1840s because of the increasing anxieties of native women in the Settlement.[65]

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[59] Judicial districts and courts were established in 1835, but no records survive from this period. Even the records of the General Quarterly Court, established in 1839, are only extant from 1844 on.

[60] PAM, Records of the General Quarterly Court.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Letter of Eden Colvile to Archd. Barclay, March 16, 1852 in E.E. Rich, (ed.) Eden Colvile Letter, 1849-52 (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), 121.

[63] PAM, Records of the General Quarterly Court. Also see Roy St. George Stubbs, Four Recorders of Rupert's Land: A Brief Survey of the Hudson's Bay Company Courts of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1967), 117-118.

The infant mortality rates of the parishes of St. Francois Xavier before 1870 are also interesting for the differences between the two parishes. If infant mortality rates can be taken as an indicator of social and economic conditions, then it would appear that the adaptations the metis of St. Francois were making to the new economic opportunities appearing in the 1840s and 1850s were more economically and socially "progressive" than those of the metis of St. Andrew's. Infant mortality rates (see Table 17) clearly show that from the 1840s to 1870, infants had a significantly better chance of surviving in St. Francois Xavier than in St. Andrew's. The economic concomitant to this is that the material necessities of life were better provided for by the proto-industrial family economy of St. Francois Xavier, than by the peasant subsistence economy of St. Andrew's. The reliance of the St. Andrew's metis on peasant agriculture in the 1860s, a time of almost yearly crop failures, produced a large jump in the infant mortality rate.

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[64] Ellen Linklater was convicted of infanticide and sentenced to three months in jail, but the court was not even sure whether she should have been charged, as it was not clear the child's death had been her fault. The child had been born prematurely, and Ellen had been alone when it happened. Apparently the mother had passed out at some point, and the coroner reported there had been an attempt to tie the umbilical cord. PAM, Records of the General Quarterly Courts.

[65] There is a women's history side to this question of infanticide, and to others involving illegitimacy, contraceptive practices, abortion, maternal childbirth mortality, and SIDS deaths. These issues, however, are not easily amenable to quantitative analysis, and do not emerge from the documents, most of which were authored by men.

TABLE 19
Infant and Child Mortality by Birth Cohort
St. Andrew's

	1834-49		1850-69		1870-80[66]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Births	766		1245		528	
Deaths under 1 month	7	(.91%)	51	(4.1%)	62	(11.7%)
under 1 year	52	(6.8%)	132	(10.6%)	134	(25.4%)
1-4	69	(9.0%)	103	(8.3%)	101	(19.1%)
5-9	40	(5.2%)	46	(3.7%)	20	(3.8%)
10-19	37	(4.8%)	73	(5.8%)		
under 20	198	(25.8%)	354	(28.4%)		

TABLE 20
Infant and Child Mortality by Birth Cohort
St. Francois Xavier

	1834-49		1850-69		1870-80	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Births	686		1814		809	
Deaths under 1 month	27	(3.9%)	47	(2.6%)	74	(9.1%)
under 1 year	56	(8.2%)	151	(8.3%)	183	(22.6%)
1-4	55	(8.0%)	125	(6.9%)	89	(11.0%)
5-9	30	(4.4%)	58	(3.2%)	18	(2.2%)
10-19	35	(5.1%)	72	(4.0%)		
under 20	176	(25.7%)	406	(22.4%)		

These different economic patterns not only affected the mortality of the newborn, but also that of children growing into adulthood. This can be seen by following the progress of a birth cohort over twenty years to discover how many of its members die and at what ages. This was only attempted up to the age of twenty since after this age the possibility of adults leaving the parish and dying elsewhere increases substantially. Even up to the age of twenty, a certain number of juveniles are likely to die outside the parish so that this procedure will underestimate adolescent mortality slightly. While the percentage of children dying before reaching the age of twenty was about the same in both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's up to 1849, parish level infant mortality rates diverged after this date. I have argued that, prior to the late 1840s, the family economy of both parishes could be considered a peasant subsistence economy. Given the same economy and environmental conditions, it could be expected that child mortality rates would be about the same. After the late 1840s, as we have seen, the family economy of the St. Francois Xavier metis began to change as more metis families abandoned peasant agriculture to enter the fur trade, particularly the buffalo robe trade -- a transition, which I have argued can be equated with the proto-industrialization of the family economy. The St. Andrew's metis, on the other hand, remained much more strongly tied to peasant agriculture. The biological cost-benefit of the various adaptive strategies can be glimpsed in the mortality rates. St. Andrew's child mortality rates rose in the period 1849-70, while St. Francois Xavier's mortality of children under the age of twenty dropped despite the fact that the population of the parish almost tripled. St. Andrew's child mortality was higher in all age groups examined under the age of twenty (see Tables 19 & 20).

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[66] Because the study had an endpoint of 1890, it was impossible to trace a birth in 1890 another twenty years. For this reason 1880, was the last year traced and only for ten years.

In the period from 1870 to 1890, however, the two metis parishes both experienced a revolution in mortality. This was the time of large immigration from Ontario, and the introduction of large scale commercial agriculture to the west. The agricultural revolution (mechanization, markets, transportation) in other societies usually produced significant drops in infant mortality rates. In the metis communities of Red River, however, it occasioned huge increases in infant mortality. In the decade of the 1870s St. Francois Xavier infant mortality rates nearly tripled and St. Andrew's more than doubled (see Table 17). Mortality also increased tremendously among children aged one to four years of age (see Tables 19 & 20).

These increases can, to some extent, be explained. For the metis of St. Francois Xavier, the proto-industrial economy they had built up around the buffalo-robe trade collapsed in the mid 1870s with the extermination of the buffalo and a glut of robes on the market. Even before this time, continuation in the buffalo-robe trade had necessitated permanent emigration west for many metis in St. Francois Xavier. Those metis remaining in Manitoba after 1875 had, by and large, made the decision to farm. For most of the metis of both St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's, whose experience in farming up until this point had been largely peasant-subsistence in nature, the transition to large-scale commercial farming was fraught with difficulty. Not only were the early 1870s very poor years for farming, but the metis were doubly handicapped in that their small river lots were particularly ill-suited to commercial grain farming which thrived on economies of scale.[67] High infant and child mortality rates in the 1870s testify to the cultural and socio-economic problems of adaptation.

In the 1880s infant mortality rates in St. Francois Xavier continued to rise while St. Andrew's rates fell considerably (see Appendix E). It is probable that the different cultural background of the St. Andrew's metis, and their greater commitment to agriculture in the period before 1870, helped them adapt faster than those in St. Francois

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[67] It is true that the Metis had access to larger acreages of land beyond the river lots, through the land grants to Metis in the Manitoba Act; however, this land only began to be allocated in the late 1870. This was too late for many who were to leave the province.

Xavier.[68] In addition to the arrival of Wolseley's Expedition, and the immigration of Ontario settlers, there was a great deal of racism and hostility directed at the French metis. This made adaptation to the new order much more difficult for the French metis than the English metis. Infant mortality rates probably reflected these social and cultural difficulties, and must be taken into consideration in order to understand the much higher rates of dispossession of the French metis in Manitoba after 1870.

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[68] St. Francois Xavier also experienced far more emigration after 1870 than did St.Andrew's (see chapter vii).

Chapter IX

Migration and Persistence of The Red River metis
1835-1890

The scholarly debate about the migration and dispersal of the metis of Red River has generally focused on some immutable nature of "metis society", and has concentrated on the period after 1870. Those who argue that the metis were essentially a "primitive people" saw the metis exodus from Manitoba as a self-imposed exile, a return to primitivism. More recently, scholars have rejected this civilization-savagery dichotomy and have argued that the metis of Red River were a settled people with strong attachments to the land. In this view the metis dispersal was, in effect, a forced dispossession by the Canadian Government and aggressive capitalism. While these views have some validity, both over-simplify the causes of metis emigration from Red River, and do not examine the role of the changing nature of the metis economy in Red River. Specifically, they do not analyze the basis of migration and persistence of the metis in Red River previous to 1870. An examination of this earlier period not only provides a more comprehensive explanation of the dispersal of the metis, but accounts for the variability in the metis experience at Red River.

Both G. F. G. Stanley and Marcel Giraud, whose works first appeared in the 1930s and 1940s, saw the metis as a primitive people doomed with the advance of the agricultural frontier. Unequipped to deal with the new economic order, they were submerged by the land rush after 1870.[1] According to Stanley, migration was the only alternative to racial absorption by an unfamiliar and aggressive civilization that flowed into Manitoba after 1870.

> Neither their racial consciousness, nor their primitive economy was strong enough to maintain the separate identity of the half-breed "nation" in the midst of an overwhelming white immigration and a competitive nineteenth-century civilization.[2]

This view of metis society was accepted uncritically by Marcel Giraud. Maltreated, pushed aside and unable to adjust, the metis, Giraud argued, left Red River for the north and west where they attempted to rebuild their traditional life.

> A partir de 1870, par une sorte de choc en retour, la Riviére Rouge, dont la population s'était en grande partie recrutée dans les espaces de l'Ouest, devint à son tour le point de départ d'un important exode vers ces mêmes espaces . . . .[3]

This view of metis emigration from Red River has been disputed by D. N. Sprague, a historian retained by the Manitoba Metis Federation of Manitoba to undertake research into metis land claims. In a series of articles, a book, and in a published collection of quantitative data relating to the Red River metis, Sprague has argued that the actions of the Canadian Government, preceding and following the Resistance of 1869-70, and the promulgation of the 'Manitoba Act', represented a deliberate attempt on the part of Prime Minister Macdonald and Ontario to appropriate Red River from the metis, legally or illegally.[4] In another article Sprague further argued that by 1870 the metis of Red River were persistent settlers, not primitive nomadic hunters as Giraud and Stanley had claimed. Their subsequent migration to the Northwest was to recover a livelihood denied them in Manitoba.[5]

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[1] George F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions. Marcel Giraud, Le Métis canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire de provinces de l'Ouest.

[2] George F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, 18.

[3] Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien II, 1134.

Metis emigration from Red River, in fact, was tied very closely to the changes in their political economy from the 1830s to 1890. Metis persistence in, and migration from Red River went through a number of stages of which the period after 1870 was only one, albeit the most dramatic. This emigration of Red River metis, until at least 1875, was a continuing response to attractive new economic activities that emerged in the fur trade after 1850. With the opening of new fur markets the metis increasingly combined different types of economic activity in the same household: petty-commodity production (buffalo robes, carts, pemmican, leather crafts) trading activities, and temporary wage labour. In effect, some metis communities abandoned agriculture and increasingly specialized in the fur trade as new roles were opened to them. Migration was part of the relocation of labour consequent upon this re-organization of the metis family economy which followed the expansion of the capitalistic fur trade. Accordingly, the dispersal of the Red River metis between 1850 and 1875 should not be seen primarily as the self-inflicted exile of a "primitive" people nor the forced dispossession by the Canadian Government. Rather, it should be seen as an adaptive, innovative response to new economic opportunities. Only this broader economic view of the dispersal of the Red River metis can make sense of the differential rate of migration, not only between the various metis communities, but within these communities at Red River. This is not to deny that there were push factors involved in the metis emigration after 1870 -- in particular the hostility of the incoming Ontario settlers -- but it is unlikely that they were predominant.

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[4] D. N. Sprague, "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887". "The Manitoba Land Question 1870-1882". Canada and the Metis, 1869-1885 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988). D. N. Sprague and R. P. Frye, The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement 1820-1900 (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983).

[5] P. R. Mailhot and D. N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Metis, 1870-1885," Canadian Ethnic Studies XVII, No. 2 (1985).

As has been argued earlier, by 1835 the various metis communities of Red River had established a functioning way of life whose primary constituents were semi-autonomous village communities and cultures. Their subsistence household economy was based on the buffalo hunt, small scale cultivation and seasonal labour for the Hudson's Bay Company. It was, in effect, a "specialized" peasant society and economy whose primary aims were to secure the needs of the family rather than make a profit. In the period before 1849, these peasant communities exhibited a strong geographic stability or persistence. Of the 94 families in St. Andrew's in 1835, 80% were still persistent in 1849.[6] In St. Francois Xavier, 66% of the 97 families were still persistent in 1849. Those family heads who did migrate were generally younger, had smaller families and fewer resources. These characteristics are consistent with what Peterson has called traditional migration: generally unsystematic migrations consisting of conservative group movements, and idiosyncratic movements of individuals.[7] The limited qualitative evidence related to emigration from Red River before 1849 confirms this. In the 1830s and 1840s there was a small but steady trickle of emigrants to the United States from all communities in the

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[6] Censuses of this period listed only the head of the family along with the number of adults and children in the family. A family was considered persistent if the head of the family listed in the 1835 census reappeared in the 1849 census. In those cases where it could be shown that the head of family had died in the intervening years, and the family was present and listed under another name in the 1849 census, the family was still considered persistent. This required cross-referencing the census returns with the parish registers. This methodology would therefore not be able to detect those individual migrants who were children.

[7] William Peterson, Population, 3rd edition (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1975), 319. Calvin Goldscheider, Population, Modernization, and Social Structure (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), 184-185.

Settlement,[8] along with the movement of Hudson's Bay Company servants and offices to other posts in the North-West. The one larger movement consisted of the trek of 20 families to Columbia under the direction of James Sinclair. This migration had been organized by the Hudson's Bay Company to counteract the projected American movement of settlers into Oregon.[9] The impact of these migrations on the Colony was, however, minimal.

More important factors were the changes in the political economy of the Red River metis occurring in the 1840s, changes which integrated the colony into the wider world, producing large upheavals in Red River. These changes were, as argued earlier, tied to the increasing metis involvement in the capitalistic fur trade, especially the emerging buffalo robe trade. This transformation of the metis economy in the 1840s led to an increased mobility and emigration. With the growing importance of the robe trade in the 1860s, metis families in Red River were increasingly forced to make a decision between subsistence agriculture in the colony and the hivernement existence which went with the trade.[10]

Hivernants (literally winterers) were those metis who spent the winter on the plains to be nearer the buffalo herds. The best or "prime" buffalo robes were those taken from the buffalo in winter when the hair was the thickest. As the buffalo

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[8] John E. Foster, "The Country-Born of the Red River Settlement," p. 219n.

[9] George Gladman to James Hargrave (Fort Garry), June 3, 1843; The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-43, ed. by G.P. deT. Glazebrook (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), 348.

[10] 'Hivernement' ('wintering') and 'hivernant' ('winterer') are terms used to describe some metis settlements on the plains in the years after the 1840s. The literature on the hivernement experience is not large but is growing. The best contemporary description is found in the letters and writings of Father Decorby located in the various archival holdings of the Oblate Order of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The best historical study to date is R. F. Beal, John E. Foster, and Louise Zuk, "The Métis Hivernement Settlement at Buffalo Lake, 1872-77," An Historical Report prepared for the Department of Culture, Alberta Government: Historic Sites and Provincial Museums Division (April 1987).

TABLE 21
Metis Migration from Red River Before 1870

PARISH	NO. OF MIGRANTS (individuals)	% of Migrants	POPULATION IN 1870
St. Peter's	23	3.8	822
St. Andrew's	38	6.3	1456
Portage	63	10.4	337
St. Paul's	7	1.1	344
St. John's	5	0.8	434
Ft. Garry-Wpg	25	4.1	---
St. Boniface	76	12.5	817
St. Norbert	22	3.6	1068
St. Vital	15	2.5	400
St. Charles	4	0.7	385
St. James	4	0.7	399
High Bluff	2	0.3	144
Poplar Point	3	0.5	514
St. F. Xavier	187	30.9	1857
Scratching River	1	0.2	55
Kildonan	3	0.5	510
Ste. Agathe	2	0.3	157
Baie St. Paul	20	3.3	313
Headingly	1	0.2	307
Other/Unknown	105	17.3	1909
TOTAL	606	100.0	12,228

Source: Scrip Records

withdrew further from Red River it was thus necessary to winter on the plains. These metis lived in temporary camps ranging from a few families to large encampments replete with a resident priest. Eventually, wintering turned into permanent emigration from Red River. St. Francois Xavier, along with the communities of St. Boniface, Portage la Prairie, and St. Andrew's began to experience increasing emigration beginning with the 1850s. From the information in Table 21, it is evident that St. Francois Xavier experienced by far the most emigration prior to 1870. This supports arguments made earlier that the metis of St. Francois Xavier had adapted eagerly to new opportunities in the buffalo-robe trade which had arisen in the 1840s. St. Andrew's had far fewer emigrants, even fewer than the small, recently formed parish of Portage la Prairie, which emphasizes again the greater committment of St. Andrew's metis to subsistence agriculture.

This, contrary to the arguments of Frits Pannekoek, does not appear to have been due to a land shortage or a demographic crisis,[11] but to the pull of economic opportunity. If, in fact, emigration was a result of population pressure and land shortages, then St. Andrew's should have experienced more emigration than Portage, a small, sparsely settled community. Pannekoek's thesis, briefly stated, argues that by 1840, the Red River Settlement was faced with a demographic crisis; that the expanding population and consequent shortage of land in the older parishes was causing a breakdown and disintegration of the extended family, and consequently Red River. Based on an aggregate analysis of the Red River censuses of 1832 to 1849, his main points are first, the increase in the average age of the metis head of household from 33 in 1832 to 39 in 1843, and the increase in the average number of sons over 16 from .23 in 1832 to .35 in 1843 demonstrated the increasing prevalence of the extended family; and second, the subsequent decline in the average age of the metis head of household from 39 in 1843 to 36 in 1849 demonstrated the collapse of the extended family in Red River and a serious demographic crisis in Red River.[12] Apart from the problem of making such sweeping generalizations on the basis of census information covering only 17 years, Pannekoek's terminology can be misleading.

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[11] Frits Pannekoek, "A Probe Into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River," in Essays on Western History, ed., L. H. Thomas (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976).

[12] Ibid., 83-87.

When other census years are used and the period studied is extended to 1870, no such demographic crisis or trend is apparent in either the parishes of St. Andrew's or St. Francois Xavier. From this data it would appear, in fact, that the age of the head of family in St. Andrew's rose steadily to 1870, indicating the opposite to what Pannekoek proposed. While the number of sons over 16 decreased in St. Andrew's from 1849 to 1870, this can hardly be seen as a crisis in the extended family (see Tables 22 & 23).

TABLE 22
Mean Age of Family Head and Mean Sons over 16
St. Andrew's 1835-1870

	1835	1849	1870
Age of Family Head	40.1	42.6	43.4
Sons over 16	.227	0.53	.317
Size of Family	5.78	5.66	4.4
% metis	53.6	68	73.1

TABLE 23
Mean Age of Family Head and Mean Sons over 16
St. F. Xavier 1835-1870

	1835	1849	1870
Age of Family Head	40.3	43.89	41.4
Sons over 16	.235	.284	.457
Size of Family	5.16	5.49	5.1
% metis	74.5	82	91.4

It should also be remembered that families go through developmental cycles just as the individuals who compose them go through their life cycles. As Jack Goody has pointed out, extended families may appear rarely in a population because they last for only a short period of the family cycle. From this point of view, a nuclear family is also merely a phase through which most families pass. When a young couple marry, there is a good chance that the parents will still be alive; thus the couple may begin in an "extended family" which they later leave and finally reconstitute. In this view the upheaval that Pannekoek identifies in Red River in the 1840's might best be seen as a period of generational transfer, rather than a crisis in the extended family.[13]

A further difficulty with Panneloek's analysis is his terminology. His use of the term "Head of Household" for the persons listed in the censuses between 1832 and 1849 can be misleading. They were, in fact, heads of family who often lived with others (parents, parents-in-law, employers).[14] An example of how this can distort an analysis of extended families is the case of the Johnston family in St. Andrew's. In the 1870 census Archibald Johnston and Charles Johnston and their families are listed separately despite the fact that both lived on lot 58 with their father George Johnston.

While there is no doubt that there were few lots available in St. Andrew's by the 1850's, it is also true that a large number of families owned multiple lots. Even by 1870 families had vacant lots as it was customary for landowners to own lots on the other side of the river as a wood lot.[15] Surveyors' reports from the period 1871-73 also emphasize that land use was not intensive in either St. Francois Xavier or St. Andrew's. St. Andrew's, the more agricultural of the two parishes, averaged 6 cultivated acres per

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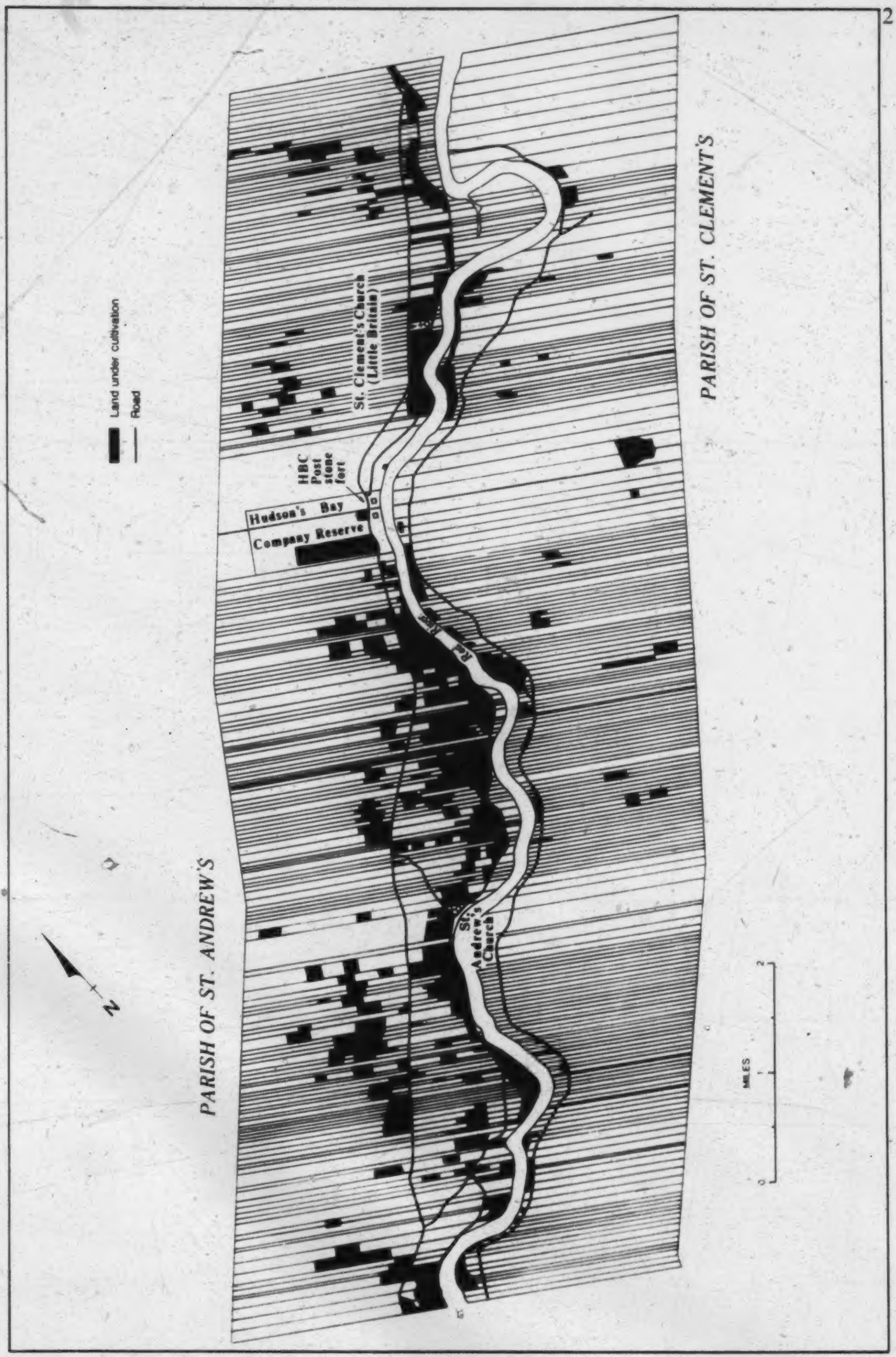
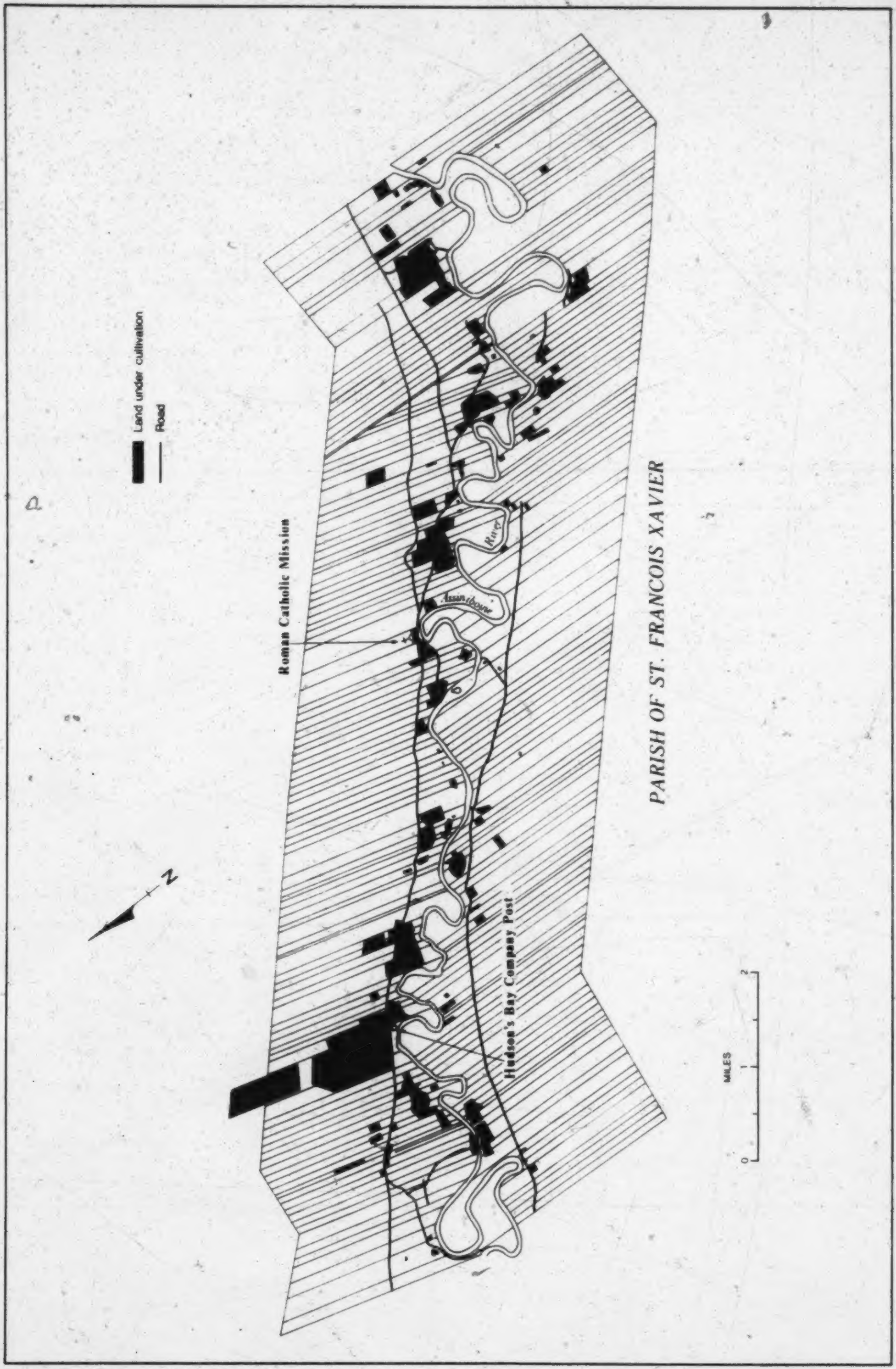
[13] Jack Goody, "Domestic Groups," (Addison-Wesley Modular Publications, Module 28, 1972), 17.

[14] Close attention to the various manuscript censuses reveal comments such as "lives with...".

[15] PAM, Parish Files.


Land under cultivation
Road
PARISH OF ST. ANDREW'S
PARISH OF ST. CLEMENT'S
St. Clement's Church (Little Britain)
HBC Post stone fort
Hudson's Bay Company Reserve
Red River
St. Andrew's Church
MILES
0
1
2
N

Map 6 Plan of St. Andrew's showing extent of Cultivation, circa 1870


Land under cultivation
Road
Roman Catholic Mission
Assiniboine
River
N
Hudson's Bay Company Post
PARISH OF ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER
MILES
0
1
2

Map 7 Plan of St. Francois Xavier showing extent of Cultivation, circa 1870 family in 1870 (see Maps 6 & 7). The scarcity of land and small lot size was not a crisis at a time when peasant subsistence agriculture was still the norm, and would not become one until the later 1870s and 1880s with the onset of commercial grain farming.

The migration of approximately 23 to 25 St. Andrew's families to Portage la Prairie, at the extreme western fringe of the Red River Settlement in the period 1851-53 is an interesting case in point. What at first sight might seem to be a move of prospective farmers in search of free land, is much more profitably seen as the move of those St. Andrew's metis involved in the buffalo-robe trade to a location closer to the plains. William Cockran, one of the promoters of the new settlement, was ambiguous about the nature of the settlement.

> About 25 families of half-breeds whose children have grown up and wished to seek a home where there was a likelihood of procuring a subsistence without being driven to the hard labour of work in the boats, also have pitched upon this spot, it is eligible for cultivation . . . .[16]

The Hudson's Bay Company, which opposed the settlement, viewed its purpose less benignly. They expected the settlement to become "a nest of needy greedy private traders."[17] These suspicions gained more credence as many of these settlers, including the large Whitford and Anderson families, had by the 1860s again moved further west to the Victoria and Fort Edmonton areas.[18] As Table 21 demonstrates, Portage experienced a good deal of emigration to the plains prior to 1870; only St. Francois Xavier and St. Boniface, two much larger parishes, experienced more emigration.

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[16] CMS Records, Incoming Correspondence, Letter Book V, Letter of Cockran to Sec., Aug. 6, 1851, 99-100.

[17] HBCA, D5/32, Donald Ross to Simpson, December 18, 1851.

[18] A.C. Garrioch, The Correction Line (Winnipeg: Stovel Co. Ltd., 1933). Garrioch noted of the Whitford family that they were all mighty hunters but had little interest in farming.

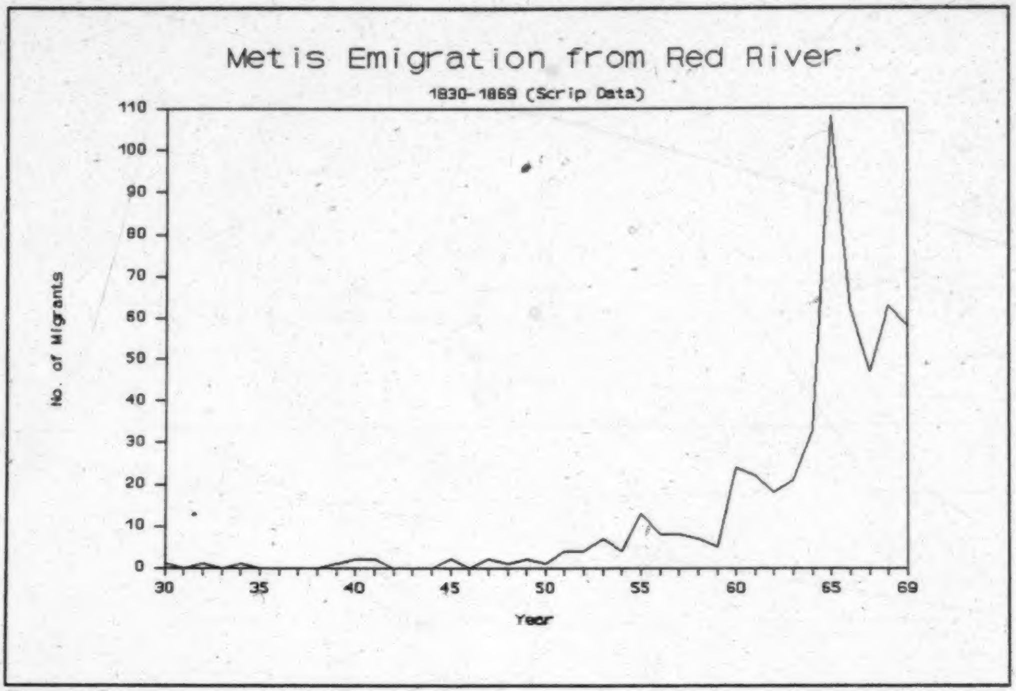

figure 18

From the information given in the Northwest Scrip Applications,[19] it is possible to see that permanent emigration from Red River began to increase in the 1850s, peaking around 1865 (see figure 18). This timing corresponds very closely with reports of when hivernement camps were becoming more permanent.[20] That these emigrants were

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[19] These North-West Scrip applications should not be regarded as a comprehensive record of all migration from Red River. For example those Metis who migrated to the United States and never returned to Canada, would obviously never have applied for scrip. Further, since scrip claims were only made after 1885, more than fifteen years after the event they recorded, migration from Red River was probably under-reported in all periods but probably more so in the 1830s and 1840s due to the death of Metis individuals. Despite these shortcomings, scrip records are useful in determining the general trends of emigration from Red River.

[20] These hivernement camps, consisting of merchants and hunting families, ranged in size from a few families to upwards of 200. Some known hivernement sites included Turtle Mountain, Qu'Appelle River, Wood Mountain, Touchwood Hills, Cypress Hills, Souris River, Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake, Lac Ste Anne, La Coulee Chapelle, Lac la Vieille, Coulees des Cheminee, St. Laurent, Prairie Ronde.

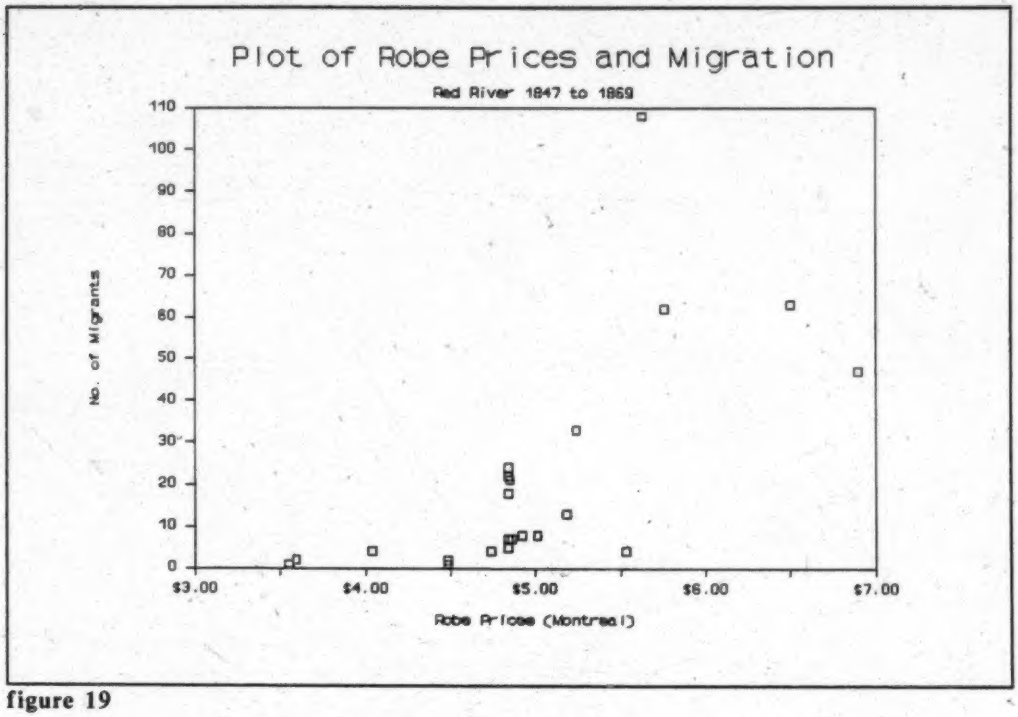

figure 19

responding to exigencies of the buffalo robe trade can be tested by examining the association between the number of migrants[21] leaving Red River and the rising buffalo robe prices between 1847 and 1869 (see figure 19). This scatterplot shows a positive linear relationship between the two variables, and the .68 correlation coefficient calculated from this data indicates a significant positive correlation between rising buffalo robe prices and metis emigration from Red River.[22]

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[21] These are the individual migrants identified in the scrip applications.

The destination of the individual migrants identified in the scrip applications further re-inforces the association between the robe trade and metis emigration. The majority of those leaving Portage went to Victoria, a settlement of English-metis buffalo hunters, while those from St. Andrew's left for both Victoria and the Saskatchewan Forks area (see Tables 24 and 25). Those leaving St. Francois Xavier and St. Boniface, the two French-metis parishes which had the highest number of emigrants, left for the hivernement sites of Qu' Appelle, Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan Forks, Lac la Biche, Cypress Hills and the Fort Edmonton area (see Tables 26 and 27). In 1864 The Nor'Wester reported that 25 French-metis families were leaving Red River for Lac la Biche. While they were taking their stock and farm implements, the main purpose of the migration, the correspondent noted, was to bring them near the buffalo, the pursuit of which would engross much more of their time than agriculture.[23]

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[22] To calculate this correlation coefficient using simple linear regression, robe prices at year N were paired with migrants in year N+1 since price information cannot affect market behavior before it can become known. Since it was not possible to determine robe prices for all years (see APPENDIX C) the price for missing years was determined by using the average of the prices on either side of it. Doing this actually lowered the correlation coefficient. Using only the years where prices were given, the correlation coefficient was .87. Using all years and utilizing the averaging method the correlation coefficient was, as mentioned, .68. The coefficient may be said to measure how closely the correlation approaches a linear functional relationship. A coefficient value equivalent to unity denotes a perfect functional relationship and all the points representing paired values of x and y would fall on the regression line representing this relationship. Correlation coefficients are expressed in values ranging between -1 and +1. The nearer a value is to either of these extremes, the better is the correlation between the two variables. If the value is positive then the correlation is direct; as the independent variable increases, so does the dependent variable increase. If the value is negative the correlation is inverse.

[23] Nor'Wester, June 21, 1864.

TABLE 24
Destination at First Migration by Date of Migration
ST. ANDREW'S

	1830-50	1851-55	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70
L. Manitoba	--	--	--	1	--
Norway Ho.	--	--	--	1	--
The Pas	--	--	1	--	1
Ft. Pelly	1	1	1	--	--
Qu Appelle	--	--	--	1	--
Ft. Ellice	--	--	4	1	--
Moose Jaw	--	--	1	1	--
Sask. Forks	--	1	--	5	1
L. la Biche	--	1	--	--	--
L Athabasca	--	--	--	--	2
Ft. Edn	--	--	--	1	2
Victoria	1	--	--	1	4
Totals	**2**	**3**	**7**	**11**	**10**

TABLE 25
Destination at First Migration by Date of Migration
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE

	1830-50	1851-55	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70
L.Manitoba	--	--	--	1	1
Qu Appelle	--	--	--	--	2
Wood Mtn	--	--	--	--	2
Sask. Forks	--	--	--	1	--
Battleford	--	--	--	--	1
I. la Crosse	--	--	--	1	--
Victoria	--	--	1	29	16
Buffalo L.	--	--	--	--	1
TOTALS	**--**	**--**	**1**	**32**	**23**

TABLE 26
Destination at First Migration by Date of Migration
ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER

	1830-50	1851-55	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70
L. Manitoba	--	--	--	1	7
Gr. Rapids	1	--	--	--	--
The Pas	--	--	--	1	--
York F.	--	1	--	--	--
Riding Mtn.	--	--	--	--	1
Pemb. Mtn.	--	--	--	1	--
Souris R.	--	--	--	1	--
Qu Appelle	--	--	3	16	37
Ft. Ellice	--	--	--	2	4
Moose Jaw	--	--	--	1	--
Wood Mtn.	--	--	3	9	16
Touchwd H.	--	--	--	2	--
Saskatoon	--	--	--	2	1
Sask. Forks	--	1	1	1	8
Ft. Pitt	--	--	--	1	--
Lac la Biche	--	1	--	6	1
L. Slave L.	--	--	--	1	--
Ft. Edn.	--	2	--	--	3
Victoria	--	--	--	--	1
Cyp. Hills	--	--	--	2	14
TOTALS	1	5	7	47	98

The Red River-based buffalo hunt was by this time on its last legs with no more than 150 carts participating in 1866.[24] The herds were now too far away, and continued participation in the buffalo robe trade necessitated migration. In the autumn of 1869 alone, 40 families left St. Francois Xavier and Pembina to winter at Wood Mountain, and many never returned.[25] Large numbers of metis from St. Francois Xavier also returned to the region of Battleford in the fall of 1869, because of the large buffalo herds there

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[24] PAM "Memoirs of Louis Schmidt," pp. 40 and 67.

[25] Henri Létourneau Raconte (Winnipeg: Editions Bois-Brûlés, 1980), 44.

TABLE 27
Destination at First Migration by Date of Migration
ST. BONIFACE

	1830-50	1851-55	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70
L. Manitoba	--	--	--	1	--
L. Winnipeg	--	--	1	--	--
Pem. Mts.	--	--	--	1	1
Qu Appelle	--	1	1	8	3
Ft. Ellice	--	--	1	--	--
Wood Mtn.	--	--	--	--	5
T.wood Hills	--	--	--	--	2
Sask. Forks	--	--	2	--	1
Ft. Pitt	--	--	--	1	--
I. la Crosse	--	--	2	--	1
Lac la Biche	--	1	--	--	--
L. Atha.	--	--	--	--	1
G. Slave L.	--	--	1	--	--
Mckenzie R.	--	--	--	--	1
Ft. Edn.	--	1	2	13	2
St. Paul	1	--	--	--	--
Battle R.	--	--	--	--	1
Buffalo L.	--	--	--	--	4
TOTALS	**1**	**3**	**10**	**24**	**22**

in past years.[26] In order to find large herds by the late 1860s it would have been necessary to travel 500 miles from Red River.[27] While large hunts continued to take place, they no longer originated in Red River.

A more detailed statistical analysis of the migrants identified by linking the censuses between 1835 and 1870 in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's once again demonstrates that St. Francois Xavier experienced significantly more emigration prior to 1870, in fact 8-14% more (see Tables 28 & 29). Within these parish communities this census data also shows the extent to which emigration affected all

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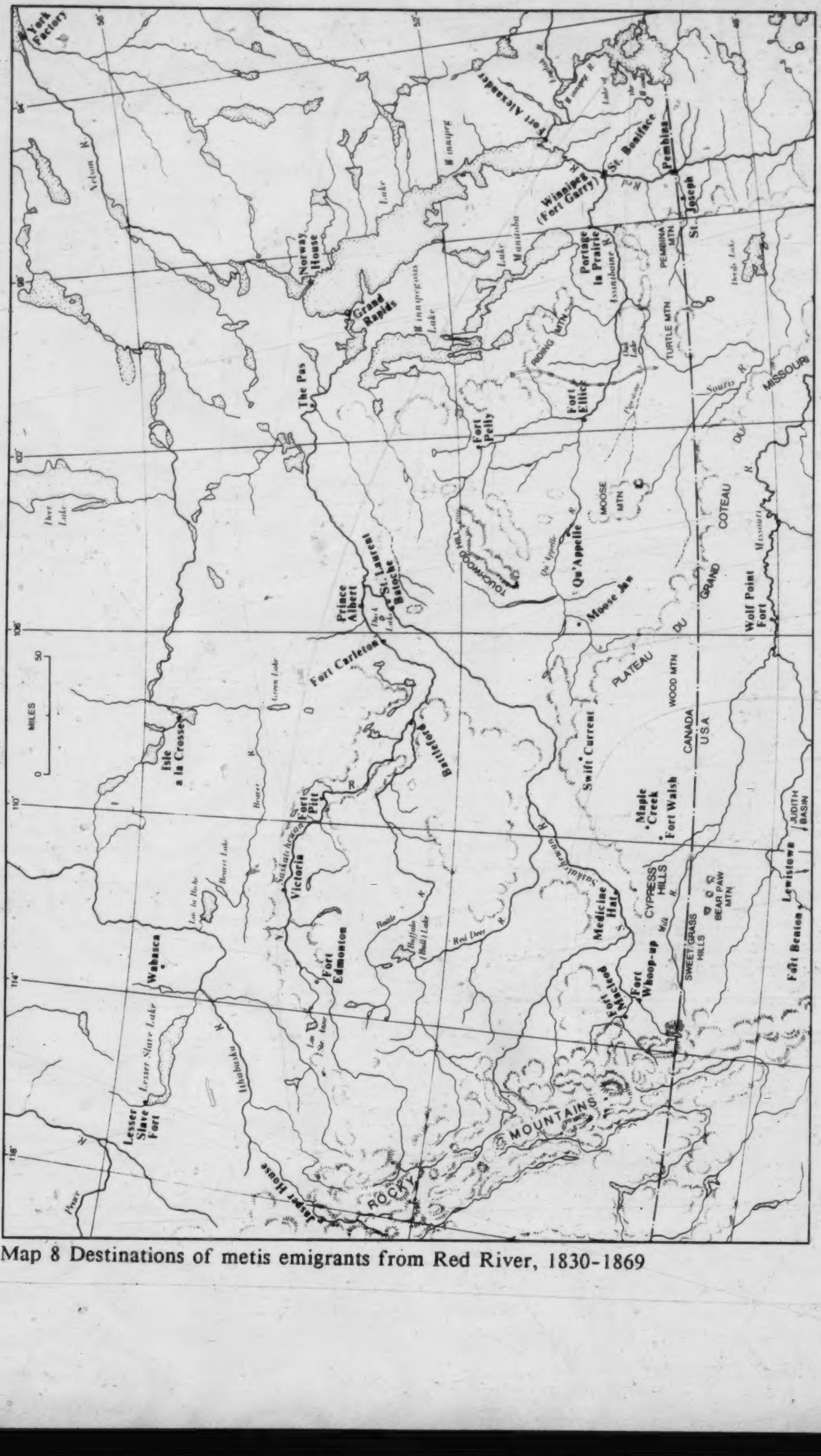
[26] Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, 821-22.

[27] F. G. Roe, The North American Buffalo (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 396.


York Factory
Nelson R.
Fort Alexander
Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods
St. Boniface
Pembina
Winnipeg (Fort Garry)
St. Joseph
Norway House
Lake Winnipeg
Grand Rapids
Lake Manitoba
Portage la Prairie
Assiniboine R.
PEMBINA MTN
Lake Winnipegosis
RIDING MTN
TURTLE MTN
The Pas
Fort Pelly
Fort Ellice
Souris R.
MISSOURI
Deer Lake
MOOSE MTN
COTEAU
Qu'Appelle
TOUCHWOOD HILLS
St. Laurent
Batoche
Prince Albert
Duck Lake
Moose Jaw
GRAND
DU
PLATEAU
Wolf Point Fort
Missouri R.
Fort Carleton
Green Lake
MILES
0
50
Isle a la Crosse
Beaver R.
Battleford
Swift Current
WOOD MTN
CANADA
USA
Fort Pitt
Saskatchewan
Victoria
Maple Creek
Fort Walsh
JUDITH BASIN
Lac la Biche
Beaver Lake
CYPRESS HILLS
BEAR PAW MTN
Lewistown
Medicine Hat
Battle
Buffalo Lake
Red Deer R.
Fort Edmonton
Wabasca
SWEET GRASS HILLS
Fort Benton
Fort Whoop-up
Fort Macleod
Lesser Slave Lake
Lac Ste Anne
Athabaska
MOUNTAINS
Lesser Slave Fort
Peace
ROCKY
Jasper House
56°
52°
48°
94°
98°
102°
106°
110°
114°
118°

Map 8 Destinations of metis emigrants from Red River, 1830-1869 sectors of these communities.[28] Almost none of the 1849 census variables were significant when cross-tabulated with those heads of family who left the parish between 1849 and 1870. Those variables that had some degree of association with migration in the period 1835-49 (buildings, livestock, size of family and cultivated acreage), had little relationship to migration in the period 1849-70 (see Tables 28 to 31). It would appear that the economic attractions of the fur trade after 1849 affected even those who had substantial amounts of land under cultivation. Prior to 1849 migrants were apt to have significantly less acreage under cultivation than did non-migrants (about half as much). Between 1849 and 1870, however, migrants and non-migrants cultivated close to the same amount land. Likewise, other indications of wealth such as the number of buildings, and livestock, had little predictive value on who would or would not emigrate in the period 1849-70. In both these census categories, migrants and non-migrants showed little difference. For example, migrant families leaving St. Andrew's in the period 1849-70 had 12.5 head of livestock in 1849, while those staying in the parish had 13.7 head (see Table 28).

Some of these trends began to change after 1870. Confederation, with the attendant land surveys and Dominion land regulations, affected the way in which property was viewed, and added a new dimension to the movement out of Red River. The increasing importance of land ownership in the new political and economic order can be seen clearly in both St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier. In both parishes there was a strong negative relationship between emigration on the one hand, and the number of buildings owned, the amount of cultivated acreage, and the amount of land owned on the other. Migrants in the period 1870-81 owned less than half the amount of land than did non-migrants, and they cultivated approximately 1/9 to 1/7 the amount of land non-

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[28] Migrants in this case consisted of heads of family as these were the only individuals identified in the censuses up to 1870. A head of family was considered a migrant if he/she was identified in one census and did not show up in the subsequent censuses. Those heads of family who had died in the intervening years and were recorded in the burial registers of the respective parishes were not recorded as migrants.

TABLE 28
Breakdown of Census Variables for Migrant at Next Census
St. Andrew's

	1835	1849	1870
Population	547	1017	1456
Families	94	180	289
Adult Individuals	3	8	42
% Migrant (at next census)	20	35	34
Mean Age/Head of Fam.			
Migrant	35.4	38.5	38.8
Non-Migrant	42.6	44.8	44.0
Mean Family Size			
Migrant	4.9	5.3	4.4
Non-Migrant	5.8	5.4	5.1
Mean Son Over 16/Fam.			
Migrant	.0	.42	.24
Non-Migrant	.29	.58	.42
Mean Buildings/Fam.			
Migrant	2.05	2.37	.41
Non-Migrant	2.46	2.53	1.78
Mean Livestock/Fam.			
Migrant	10.8	12.5	----
Non-Migrant	13.3	13.7	----
Mean Carts/Fam.			
Migrant	.65	1.6	----
Non-Migrant	.84	1.5	----
Mean Cult./Fam.			
Migrant	3.9	7.3	1.4
Non-Migrant	6.3	6.7	9.4
Mean Total Acres/Fam.			
Migrant	----	----	20.4
Non-Migrant	----	----	73.6

TABLE 29
Breakdown of Census Variables for Migrant at Next Census
St. Francois Xavier

	1835	1849	1870
Population	506	911	1857
Families	97	165	334
Adult Individuals	5	4	27
% Migrant (at next census)	34	43	60
Mean Age/Head of Fam.			
Migrant	35.6	46.2	38.8
Non-Migrant	41.2	43.9	44.7
Mean Family Size			
Migrant	3.9	5.3	5.39
Non-Migrant	5.4	5.4	5.60
Mean Son Over 16/Fam.			
Migrant	.11	.35	.51
Non-Migrant	.30	.59	.46
Mean Buildings/Fam.			
Migrant	1.26	1.44	.61
Non-Migrant	1.88	1.61	1.93
Mean Livestock/Fam.			
Migrant	5.1	6.04	----
Non-Migrant	10.5	9.38	----
Mean Carts/Fam.			
Migrant	.57	2.0	----
Non-Migrant	1.6	2.6	----
Mean Cult./Fam.			
Migrant	3.3	2.4	1.7
Non-Migrant	7.1	3.7	7.25
Mean Total Acres/Fam.			
Migrant	----	----	47.9
Non-Migrant	----	----	104.3

TABLE 30
Crosstabulation of Census Variables with Migrant: St. Andrew's 1835 to 1881

	1835-49	1849-70	1870-81
Race	.16*	.15*	.07
Age	.24	.22*	.20
Family Size	.16	.11	.17
Sons under 16	.14	.15	.05
Sons over 16	.13	.07	.07
Buildings	.24	.10	.39
Horses	.12	.04	---
Total Livestock	.27	.17	---
Carts	.13	.03	---
Cultivated Acres	.23	.13	.40
Total Acres	---	---	.34

Note: The measure of co-efficience used here is "Cramer's V" which is derived from Chi-Squared. Cramer's V measures the independence between the variables cross tabulated. A value of 0 would indicate there was no relationship between the variables, while a value of 1.0 would indicate a perfect relationship between variables.

*Contingency coefficient used instead of Cramer's V. In a two by two table, however, it has the same value as Cramer's V.

TABLE 31
Crosstabulation of Census Variables with Migrants: St. F. Xavier 1835-81

	1835-49	1849-70	1870-81
Race	.18*	.06*	.16
Age	.30	.14	.12
Family Size	.28	.08	.09
Sons under 16	.13	.12	.09
Sons over 16	.12	.01	.01
Buildings	.33	.14	.43
Horses	.20	.20	---
Total Livestock	.25	.16	---
Carts	.32	.10	---
Cultivated Acres	.32	.10	.33
Total Acres	---	---	.38

migrants cultivated. In St. Andrew's, for example, migrants averaged 1.4 acres of cultivated land while non-migrants averaged 9.4 acreas (see Table 28). This new importance of land and property was not lost on the metis. Even before the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada, many metis had their land surveyed to secure proof of possession.[29] Land grants to metis children and metis heads of family were also main points in the negotiations leading up to the Manitoba Act. The metis realized that the land question involved nothing less than their stake in the new province. "Nous revenons encore sur cette question c'est la question du jour, question brûlante et délicate. Pour les Métis, c'est leur patrimoine et celui de leurs enfants."[30]

There was, however, a significant difference in the number of migrants leaving the two parishes in the period from 1870 to 1881. While the percentage of 1870 residents who left St. Andrew's in the period 1870 to 1881 was 35%[31], that of St. Francois Xavier jumped to 60%. This large differential was not due to any difference in landownership as the percentage of heads of family who owned land in the two parishes was almost equal.[32] Further, this large increase in emigration from St. Francois Xavier can not be fully explained by a greater commitment of the French metis to the buffalo-trade. Previous to 1870 St. Francois Xavier experienced approximately 8% to 14% more emigration between censuses than did St. Andrew's, but between 1870 and 1881 this difference jumped to 26%. Rather, the difference in migration rates between the two parishes after 1870 must be attributed to the linguistic and religious intolerance of the new settlers arriving from Canada.

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[29] PAM, Parish Files document numerous claims survey by Roger Goulet, between 1860-69.

[30] Le Métis, 13 juillet 1871, "Les Terres."

[31] While this figure of 35% is the same percentage as that of the period 1849 to 1870 (giving the impression of no increase) it should be noted that it covers a period of 10 fewer years.

[32] Fifty-six percent of St. Andrew's families and fifty-two percent of St. Francois Xavier families listed in the census of 1870 owned or were recognized as being in possession of river lots. These figures are deduced by cross referencing the 1870 census, Surveyor returns, Parish Files and the Land Titles Abstract Book. The rest of the families in the parish were residing on lots owned by other members of their extended family or squatting on others' land.

Lt. Governor Archibald, writing to John A. Macdonald in 1871, warned that the French metis were very excited.

> . . . not so much, I believe by the dread about their land allotment as by the persistent ill-usage of such of them as have ventured from time to time into Winnipeg from the disbanded volunteers and newcomers who fill the town. Many of them actually have been so beaten and outraged that they feel as if they were living in a state of slavery. They say that the bitter hatred of these people is a yoke so intolerable that they would gladly escape it by any sacrifice.[33]

In 1872 Father André reported that the French-speaking metis wintering near Carleton viewed with an invincible repugnance any thought of settling in Red River again. Too many changes had taken place in both the social and political realms which were at odds with their customs and morals.[34] The arrival of the Wolseley Expedition in 1870, in fact, instituted a "reign of terror" in the settlement. Intent on avenging the death of Thomas Scott, the Ontario volunteers acted in defiance of all law and authority and established virtual mob rule in Winnipeg in 1871-72. It was not safe for a French metis to be seen near Fort Garry (the location of the land office), and those who did venture into Winnipeg risked life and limb.[35]

Father Kavanagh, the parish priest of St. Francois Xavier, who himself was almost killed by Protestant extremists on his way to Winnipeg, also complained that while the metis of his parish had designated the lands promised them in the Manitoba Act, this had scarcely stopped the Orangemen from Ontario from occupying the same land. In the face of this violation of their rights, Kavanagh reported, some metis had begun to defend themselves, but most were abandoning the struggle and in growing "arrogance" and "resignation" were leaving for the plains. Many were in fact offering to sell their lands to the same Protestants.

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[33] Letter of A. G. Archibald to Macdonald, October 9, 1871. Reprinted in Journals of the House of Common of the Dominion of Canada, 37 Vic., (1874) Vol. VIII, "Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territories in 1869-70," Appendix No. 6.

[34] Le Métis, April 3, 1872.

[35] There were, in fact, a number of deaths and scores of attacks and beatings attributed to soldiers in Winnipeg. This "reign of terror" has been painstakingly documented by Allen Ronaghan, "The Archibald Administration in Manitoba, 1870-72" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Manitoba, 1987) 417-21, 500-505, 596-607.

> Selon toute apparence nous sommes donc enveloppés et engloutis par le protestantism et l'orangisme. C'est si visible maintainenant, que ces personnes influentes dont j'ai parlé plus haut, en conviennent; mais il est bien tard !!![36]

While these land issues also created problems for the English metis of St. Andrew's,[37] the language and religion they shared with the newcomers made the issue of contiguous reserves less important, and the conflict over land less bitter.

An analysis of the alienation of river lots in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier, St. Andrew's and a sample of the other parishes between 1870 and 1890, clearly establishes the timing of this exodus. In both parishes, and Red River generally, the alienation of river lots[38] peaked in the periods 1872-74, and 1880-82 (see figure 20). The first period coincided with the delays and frustrations over the granting of metis lands, but it also represented a continuation of the exodus of those metis involved in the buffalo robe trade, which had begun previous to 1870. The poor farming years of the early seventies

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[36] AASB, Fonds Taché, T9222-9224, Kavanagh to Taché, 14 Aout 1871.

[37] There were numerous articles and reports of meetings in the English Metis parishes about the land question in The Manitoban in the early 1870's.

[38] For the purposes of this analysis of persistence and migration, the alienation of a lot was defined as the passage of the river lot out of the family. Thus a sale of a lot by an older parent to a son was not considered an alienation. Likewise a sale to a daughter, son-in-law, and wife was also not considered an alienation.

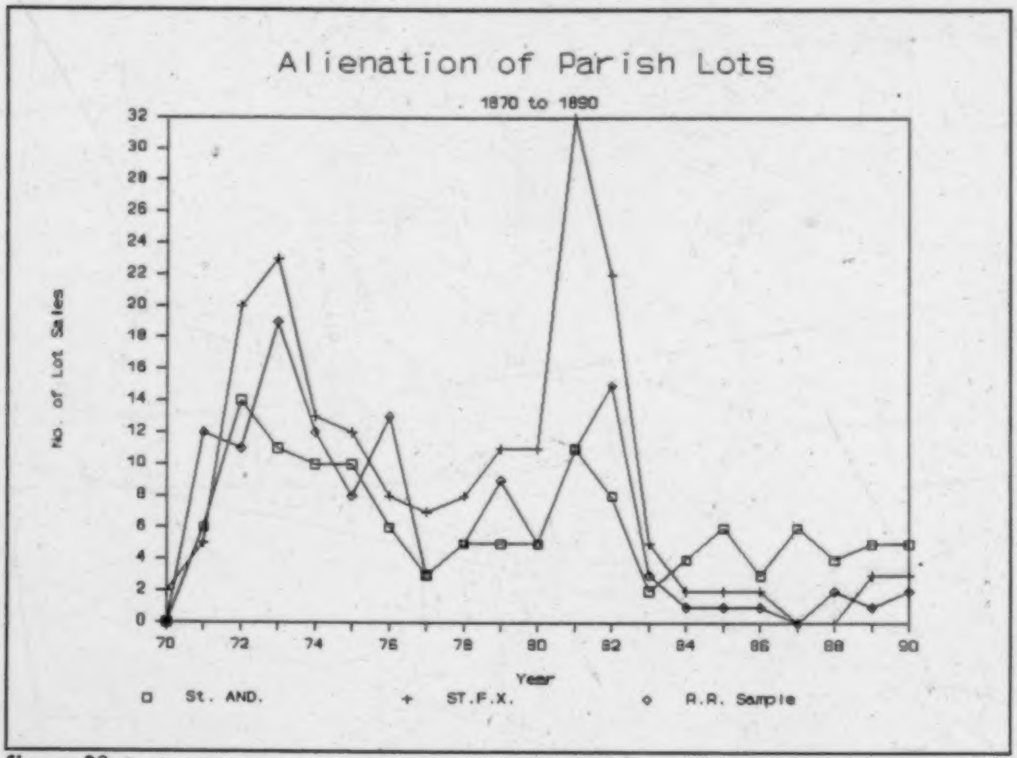

figure 20

would have made the buffalo-robe trade more attractive, while the high mortality among the metis in Red River in the period 1872-73 would have given them enough reason to leave (see Chapter VIII).

This early glut of river lot sales would seem to contradict Mailhot's and Sprague's assertion that 90% of those metis found in the 1870 census were still in the settlement in 1875.[39] According to Mailhot and Sprague this high percentage indicated that the metis were indeed "persistent settlers", that their exodus after this time was due to government lawlessness, and that the land surveyors were part of a conspiracy to overlook most metis while recording a few.[40] The evidence, however, does not support Sprague's argument.

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[39] P. R. Mailhot and D. N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers."

One problem with Mailhot's and Sprague's figures is that they misinterpreted some of their source material. They relied on genealogical affidavits[41] taken in the period 1875-79 as an indication of continued residence in the Colony, when in fact these affidavits only affirmed that the claimant had been in the province on the 15th of July A.D. 1870, not that they were still there in 1875. While many no doubt still lived in the settlement in 1875, these affidavits were no proof of that. In fact, numerous metis such as Norbert Delorme stated on the form that they had been in the province in 1870 and had left the province after that date.[42] In addition, Sprague's assertion that 90% of the metis found in the 1870 census were still in the settlement in 1875 does not agree with individual lot sales in either St. Francois Xavier or St. Andrew's. In St. Andrew's, where there was a comparatively high rate of persistence (66% from 1870 to 1881), 15% of the land owners had sold out by 1875.[43] In St. Francois Xavier, 27% of the parish landowners had sold their lots by 1875,[44] and in a 10% sample of lots in the rest of the parishes 29% of the landowners in 1870 had sold out by 1875.[45] Moreover these figures, which take only landowners into account, underestimate the number of migrants by

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[40] Ibid., 5.

[41] NAC, RG 15, Vol. 1319-1324.

[42] Ibid.

[43] 48 lots of 297 were sold in this period. The figure of 297 lots, when there were only 288 numbered lots in the parish, was arrived at because different families often owned half lots. The H.B.Co. reserve was not included in the totals.

[44] This represented 71 of 229 lots. Again the figure of 229 was arrived at in the same way as it was in St. Andrews.

[45] This represented 61 of 208 lots. While 258 lots in total were examined in the sample survey of the other parishes, 50 of these were vacant in 1870.

1875.[46]

While there is no doubt that the delays of the government in dealing with metis lands affected the migration of metis from Red River, there is little evidence in either St. Francois Xavier or St. Andrew's that land surveyors deliberately overlooked anyone. In St. Andrew's 86 % of those residents in possession of river lots in 1870 were recognized as occupants at the time of the survey. Of the remaining 14% in which the surveyors listed a different occupant, 11% had sold their lot between the census of 1870 and the survey, and the occupant recognized by the surveyor claimed the land through the 1870 resident. In only 4 lots or 1% of all lots was there no legal explanation for the difference between occupation in 1870 and recognition by surveyor. This high percentage of recognition by the surveyors was also the case in St. Francois Xavier (see Table 32).[47]

The sample survey of the other parishes had a higher percentage (10.58) of lots declared vacant by surveyors despite the fact that someone subsequently claimed they had occupied the lots in 1870. The most likely explanation for this difference would be the fact that most of these cases occurred in the recently settled parishes (Ste. Agathe and Ste. Anne) where few improvements could have been made to the lots, making it difficult for surveyors to determine occupancy in the absence of someone on the lot at the time of survey. This benign interpretation of the discrepancy is more than supported by the details of individual cases. Of the 22 lots, (10.58 %) were judged to be vacant by surveyors despite later claims to the lots, 16 (7.69 %) were later awarded to the 1870 claimants anyway.[48] Thus, in all, 200 of the occupied 208 lots (96.15 %) from the sample survey were eventually patented to persons deriving their claims from the original 1870 resident. This compares very favorably to both St. Francois Xavier (94.49%) and St. Andrew's (97.34%).

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[46] In 1877, only two years later, Father Kavanagh reported that the population of St. Francois Xavier was only 967 persons, almost 900 less than it had been in 1870. AASB Fonds Taché T18442, Kavanagh to Taché 17 février 1877.

[47] The sources for this reconstruction are the 1870 census, surveyors' returns, parish files, and Land Titles Abstract Books.

[48] These 16 lots were either later patented to the 1870 claimants or to those who had purchased the lots from the 1870 claimants.

These findings in both the case studies and sample survey contradict Sprague's wider thesis that the metis left Manitoba because they had trouble proving their claims to river lots. In the two parishes studied in detail there were very few cases of non-recognition by surveyors, and no evidence that claims were refused because of lack of evidence about occupancy. All that was necessary to prove occupancy in most cases was the sworn affidavit of a neighbour that the claimant had been the recognized owner of the lot previous to 1870. In those instances where ownership of a lot was disputed, almost all cases concerned two competing metis or old settler claims. In some cases the

TABLE 32
Recognition of 1870 Occupants by Surveyors

Survey Recognition	St. Andrew's		St. Francois X		R.R. Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1870 Occupant	261	86.42	200	84.74	148	71.15
metis	195		170		98	
Eur.	66		30		43	
Non-1870 Occupant but Intervening Transaction	33	10.92	23	9.75	36	17.31
metis (1870 Occup)	18		18		25	
Eur. (1870 Occup)	15		5		11	
Non-1870 Occupant Unexplained	4	1.33	9	3.82	2	.96
metis (1870 Occup)	2		9		1	
Eur. (1870 Occup)	2		0		1	
Vacant	4	1.33	4	1.69	22	10.58
Totals	302	100.00	236	100.00	208	100.00

actual disputed claim involved two metis or old settlers, and in others it involved two litigants who derived their claim (by sale) through a metis or old settler.[49] Thus even if the land was patented to someone other than the 1870 occupant this proved the validity of the original occupation, because a sale was not recognized as giving a right to a patent under the Manitoba Act unless the vendor would have been entitled to a patent. If there was no original occupation the lot would have been considered Dominion land and would have been sold at auction.

If, in fact, the main reason for the metis leaving Red River was their trouble in proving their claims to river lots one would have expected that the metis of St. Joseph, just over the boundary in the United States, would have exhibited a greater persistence. Here there were no requirements to prove occupancy or any other regulation since the Americans had no significant presence here in the early 1870's. Despite this the metis exodus from St. Joseph in the early 1870's surpassed emigration of metis from Red River, and by 1872 the Mission of St. Joseph lay in near ruins. Père Lefloch wrote to Bishop Taché that most of the houses of the metis were abandoned with the doors and windows nailed shut.[50] By 1874 there were only 40 families in the village. The others, over three quarters of the old population, had left for the plains to follow the buffalo.[51]

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[49] In many cases these disputed claims arose when the original settler abandoned a lot years before 1870. The lot had then been occupied by another Metis who claimed the lot by occupation in 1870. The lot came into dispute if the original occupant then also made a claim or sold the lot. Chief Justice Wood ruling on these claims would give preference to those claims which had been entered into the H.B.Co. Land Register. If neither of the claimants could trace their right to the land to an entry in the register then Wood, in the cases I have seen, ruled in favour of the occupant there in 1870. Proceedings and judgments on these disputed claims can be found in: PAM, Parish Files.

[50] PAM, Belleau Collection, M286, Letter of Père Lefloch to Taché, September 2, 1872.

[51] PAM, Belleau Collection, Reel 286, Written comments of Père Lefloche in the St. Joseph Baptismal Records 1874, Book 3, pp. 38-42.

Those metis who held onto their lots in this period generally did so until 1880, when the real estate boom in Winnipeg and surrounding area made river lots prime real estate. Sales in this period might well be seen as taking advantage of a financial opportunity, allowing metis a cash stake to re-establish themselves on larger farms elsewhere. The upsurge of emigration in this period also coincided with the loss of political power in Manitoba by the metis. The connection between the loss of political power and emigration is perfectly illustrated in the person of Louis Schmidt. On losing his seat in the Legislature in the 1878 election in St. Francois Xavier, Schmidt packed his bags and moved to Batoche.[52]

An examination of the destination of those who left after 1870 illustrates how the two peaks (early 1870's and the period around 1880) of emigrations differed. While there are no consistent time-specific quantitative data that can be used to analyze the destination of migrants, individual references in parish files and other sources give some indication. Of those leaving in the early 1870s, many left for metis wintering sites, in effect continuing their involvement in the buffalo trade. Pascal Breland writing to Alexander Morris in 1873, noted that there were a great many metis wintering at Wood Mountain. Of the four leaders he mentioned, two were St. Francois Xavier metis who had been enumerated in 1870: Pierre Boyer, a landless metis, and Pierre Poitras, who owned lot 41 and would sell it in 1874.[53] Similarly, Francois Swain left St. Francois Xavier with his parents in 1872 to move to Cypress Hills, while John Pritchard Mckay and his son sold lot 214 to the Catholic Church in 1872 to winter on the plains.[54] Le Metis also reported that large numbers of Red River metis had settled in the vicinity of

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[52] PAM Louis Schmidt Memoirs.

[53] PAM, Morris Papers, Letter of Pascal Breland to Lt. Governor Morris, May 10, 1873.

[54] St. Francois Xavier Parish Files; Henri Létourneau Raconte, p. 36.

Wood Mountain and near Carlton in the early 1870s.[55] This type of migration, while more impelled than before 1870, could still be characterized as adaptive to the trading economy of the early seventies, particularly with the extremely high prices being offered for buffalo robes up to 1875 ($7 to $10 a robe -- see Appendix C).

Those who sold their lots later, between 1879 and 1890, had already made their decision to farm. Their exodus after 1878 reflected the difficulty of commercial grain farming on narrow river lots. The problem was especially acute in cases where a head of family died without specifying a sole heir. In all cases encountered of this type, the heirs decided to sell the lot instead of subdividing it, moving elsewhere to farm.[56] Lists of claimants for "Halfbreed Land" in the settlements of St. Louis de Langevin, Batoche and Duck Lake in the mid 1880's read like the parish rolls of St. Francois Xavier.[57] In 1882-83 alone, 20 families, many of them from St. Francois Xavier, moved to Batoche from Red River.[58] Entries for land in these settlements also corresponded to the late 1870s and early 1880s.

Not all who left the parish lots in the late 1870s and 1880s went to the North-West. Many simply sold their lots to homestead and settle in areas of Manitoba where it was more possible to settle with kin and friends. Some metis from St. Francois Xavier moved to St. Eustache, St. Rose du Lac, or Ste. Anne, while a number of families from St. Andrew's moved 60 miles north to the community of Grand Marais on Lake

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[55] Le Métis, Letter of Father Lestanc, January 23, 1877; Letter of Father Andre, April 3, 1872.

[56] This information is found in Parish Files located in the PAM. These files recorded the alienation of these lots and often enclosed wills where they had a bearing on the transmission of the lot.

[57] Detailed Report upon All Claims to Land and right to Participate in the North-West Half-Breed Grant by Settlers along the South Saskatchewan and Vicinity West of Range 26 W 2nd Meridian, (Ottawa: 1886).

[58] Diane Payment, Batoche, 1870-1910, p. 24.

Winnipeg.[59] A new settlement was also established ten miles east of St. Andrew's on Cook's Creek. According to James Settee this settlement was started in 1871 and numbered fifty adults by 1872.[60] Probably the largest offshoot community of St. Francois Xavier in Manitoba was the metis settlement at Riviére aux Ilets de Bois, south of the Assiniboine. By the 1880s, Father Kavanagh was making regular trips to the mission (St. Daniel) to minister to the approximately 30 metis families residing there (the majority of metis here settled on township 7, range 5 W).[61] Families such as the Emonds, Delormes, Lillies, Prudens and Gagnons sold their parish lots and homesteaded and bought larger farms here. It is interesting to note that they settled on homestead land denied them as "half-breed" reserves.[62]

A final determinant affecting the persistence and migration of the metis of Red River after 1870, and one which explains, to some extent, the differential rates of emigration within communities after 1870, is that of class. While difficult to define and document in the social flux of Red River in the 1860s and 1870s, it was none the less observable. The only study that has dealt with this issue in the context of metis dispersal from Red River is Nicole St-Onge's study of the dissolution of the Red River metis community of Pointe à Grouette (Ste. Agathe).[63] St-Onge sees the emergence by the late 1860s of two distinct metis groups, separated on economic and occupational lines. One group consisted of an elite involved in trading and farming, and the other consisted of the poorer metis bison hunters. In her analysis, the richer traders and farmers were able to hold onto their land much longer than the poorer buffalo hunters who had largely sold out and left the community by 1876. The fact that metis speculators were involved in the buying out of their kinsmen suggests to St-Onge that the dispersal of the metis was related to class rather than ethnicity.[64]

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[59] PAM, Parish Files; PAM Interview of Elsie Bear by Nicole St-Onge, May 16, 1985.

[60] CMS Records, C.1/0 , I.C. Reel 26, Letter of J. Settee to CMS, December 9, 1872.

[61] AASB, Fonds Taché T23724-23725, Kavanagh to Taché, 22 Avril 1880.

[62] Crown Lands Branch, Patent Diagrams; The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980, (Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1980).

[63] Nicole J.M. St-Onge, "The Dissolution of a Metis Community: Pointe à Grouette, 1860-1885," Studies in Political Economy 18 (Autumn 1985).

This pattern corresponds roughly to what occurred in St. Francois Xavier. Increasing involvement in the buffalo-robe trade after 1850 had begun to fragment metis communities on socio-economic lines, which explains, to a great extent, the differing rate of migration within communities. By the 1870s a recent immigrant from Quebec observed that St. Francois Xavier was divided on socio-economic and geographic lines. While all got along with each other, there were distinct lines. Those metis who lived in the Pigeon Lake community to the west of the church[65] were closely tied to the buffalo robe trade as hunters, and held to traditional cultural practices. They were known as the "Purs". By contrast, those metis living to the east and south of the river and involved in the buffalo robe trade as merchant traders and hunters were identified as living in "Petit Canada" and imitating Canadien fashions.[66]

The results of an analysis of the persistence of these two identifiable metis groups or classes after 1870 correspond to the pattern identified earlier, and the chronology of emigration identified by St-Onge. Of the 9 landowning families resident at Pigeon Lake in 1870, only 5 retained their land past 1875, and only 3 past 1880.[67] Those identified by Daignault as residing in 'Petit Canada' all retained their land past 1881.[68] Where this analysis differs from that of St-Onge is in the emphasis she places on the actions of the Federal Government. Agreeing with Sprague, she argues that the poorer metis hunters "left because of changes in the Manitoba Act which they were unable to circumvent." Unable to establish their improvements, and unable to effectively challenge adverse decisions related to their claims as the more affluent metis were able to, "they sold, abandoned, or were swindled out of their claims for small amounts of money."[69] This theory, however, is nowhere proven and little evidence is presented. St-Onge does show that the poorer metis left first, but nowhere establishes that the motivation or the cause of their leaving was their inability to establish their claims. A close examination of this contention earlier, in fact shows that it cannot be supported.

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[64] Ibid., 157-162.

[65] The body of water known as Pigeon Lake was situated on river lots 122-129. This was the former bed of the Assiniboine River, which through the natural process of erosion had relocated itself further south. Lots here were subdivided a good deal more than in the rest of the parish, and consequently had smaller acreages.

[66] J. Daignault, "Mes Souvenirs," Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface (fevrier, 1945), 28.

In my analysis, emphasis is placed on the proto-industrialization of the metis family economy through their involvement in the buffalo-robe trade. Increasing metis involvement in this robe trade after 1850 necessitated an occupational specialization for those families involved, and a consequent abandonment of agriculture. When the exigencies of the trade forced a permanent hivernement existence, emigration was the result. St. Francois Xavier metis, who were much more involved in the buffalo-robe trade than were the St. Andrew's metis, experienced much higher rates of emigration. This emigration, as argued earlier, began well before Manitoba's entry into Confederation, and continued up to the mid 1870s when the buffalo-robe trade collapsed. If there was an element of coercion in the metis exodus from Red River after 1870 it was related to the intolerant actions and behaviour of the incoming Protestant settlers from Ontario.

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[67] Sale dates for Pigeon Lake landowners were: Antoine Houle-1879, Edward Lingan-1890+, Louis Piche-1875, Michel Chalifoux-1878, Peter Pruden-1873, Pierre St. Denis-1873, Joshua House-1890+, Francois St. Germain-1873, Maxime Dauphinais-1890+.

[68] Those listed by Daignault included Maxime Lepine, Pierre Lavallee, Norbert Deslaurier, Jean Lesperance, Alexis Dauphinais, Xavier and Alexander Pagee.

[69] Nicole St-Onge, "The Dissolution of a Metis Community," 162.

Increasing involvement in the buffalo-robe trade after 1850 had also begun to fragment metis communities on socio-economic lines, which explains, to a great extent, the differing rate of migration within communities. Those metis families who were involved at the production end of the buffalo-robe trade had less land and fewer cultivated acres, and were generally the first to emigrate. The destinations of these migrants were, in most cases, metis wintering sites in the North-West. Continued involvement in the buffalo-robe trade for merchant traders, on the other hand, was not as dislocating. Not involved in the production end of the industry, these bourgeoisie could afford to stay in the Settlement and maintain their river-lot farms, while younger sons and relatives, or their employees took care of their trade on the plains. Many of these wealthy metis families remained in Manitoba through the 1880s.

Metis migration from Manitoba after the mid 1870s had other causes. Those who had retained their land to 1880 had, in fact, made the decision to farm rather than concentrate on the robe trade. The spate of river lot sales, and the exodus from the metis parishes in the early 1880s, was in response to high land prices during the real estate boom of 1880-82. These sales gave the metis a cash stake to re-establish larger farms elsewhere. By the late 1870s and early 1880s there was a growing recognition of the limitations of the narrow river lots for commercial grain farming, and those metis who wished to continue subsistence farming combined with occasional wage labour and freighting could best do this farther west. Those leaving in this period left to homestead in other areas of the province on larger farms, or to join the growing metis farming communities in the North-West.

Conclusion

The difficulty the Red River metis had in adapting to commercial agriculture in Manitoba after 1870, and their rapid dispersal after this date, might be seen by some observers as evidence that the metis were indeed a primitive people unable to adjust to modern society. The dispersal of the metis might also be used as evidence to argue that the metis strategy of concentrating on the buffalo-robe trade to the exclusion of agriculture was a particularly poor adaptation to the changing economy of the times. The metis have themselves attempted to refute this reasoning by adopting the arguments developed by D. N. Sprague[1] -- that their dispersal from Manitoba was due to the culpability of the Federal Government in administering the Manitoba Act. The government, they charged, acted both legally and illegally to dispossess a people who had strong ties to their land.[2]

This is not the position taken here. The dispersal of the Red River metis, it has been shown, began prior to Confederation as an adaptation to new opportunities in the fur trade. Participation in the buffalo-robe trade after the 1840s necessitated abandoning agriculture, wintering on the plains, and eventually emigration for most metis involved in this "proto-industry." The new factors that played a role in the dispersal of the metis after Confederation in 1870 were the violence of the troops sent to pacify the

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[1] D. N. Sprague, Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885.

[2] In a case presently before the courts the Manitoba Metis Federation makes this argument. Its case rests largely on the research undertaken by D. N. Sprague.

Settlement, the racism of the incoming Ontario settlers, and the very poor farming years of the early 1870s. The argument that metis emigration was an adaptive response to the buffalo-robe trade, and a reaction to the racism of Ontario settlers which alternatively pulled and pushed the metis out of Red River is supported by the much higher persistence rates of the English metis of St. Andrew's. The metis of this parish were not heavily involved in the buffalo-robe trade, and they suffered much less at the hands of the Ontario immigrants (same religion and language) and consequently remained in Manitoba.

However, the choice between agriculture and the new opportunities in the fur trade after the 1840s should not be seen as a decision between the "primitive hunt" and a "progressive" agriculture. It could much more profitably be seen the other way around. Agriculture remained, for the most part, peasant and subsistence in nature and oriented to household consumption into the early 1870s. The buffalo-robe trade, on the other hand, paid much higher returns, and produced a wealthy class of metis merchant traders. The advantages of metis participation in the buffalo-robe trade are clearly demonstrated in the mortality statistics for St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's. Infant mortality rates and other mortality indices indicate that after the late 1840s St. Francois Xavier was clearly the healthier parish in which to raise a child, and its economy better suited to providing the material wants of its inhabitants.

That the abandonment of peasant agriculture after the 1840s, and the concentration on the fur trade and domestic buffalo-robe industry would, in the long term, prove an unsuccessful strategy for adaptation to the new order in the west after 1870, could not have been foreseen at the time. For those metis traders successfully making the transition to the merchant capitalism of the period, this adaptation was cut short by the rapid destruction of the buffalo herds after 1870, and the sudden collapse of the buffalo-robe market in 1875. For those metis involved at the production end of the buffalo-robe "industry," the transition to the new industrial-capitalist economic order coming into the west was made more difficult by their retention of the family economy. As such they remained tied to the norms and rules of behaviour of the traditional familial subsistence economy. Proto-industrialization, historically, has either led beyond itself to industrial capitalism, or retreated backward into de-industrialization or re-pastoralization. This contradiction was anchored to the regulating system of the family mode of production -- "the labour-consumer balance" -- as opposed to productivity and surplus. In those situations of potential growth in which the capitalist would have obtained maximum profits, the family mode of production would have affected the replacement of productive labour effort through consumption and leisure, through feasting, playing and drinking. It was this contradiction which, in the long run, could not be squared with the dynamic of reproduction and expansion inherent in the proto-industrial system.[3]

For those metis who maintained their reliance on peasant agriculture after the 1840s and into the 1870s in such parishes as St. Andrew's, the transition to the new economic order after the 1870s was no easier. While they may have retained their river lots longer, they found the transition to commercial farming difficult. By the late 1880s there was a clear perception of their inability to farm on their small sub-divided river lots.[4]

The emergence of new economic opportunities in the 1840s, and metis adaptations to them, had another important implication for metis society at Red River. Commercial capitalism acted as a centrifuge dividing metis communities and groups. While the fur trade itself acted as a centrifuge, after the 1840s commercial capitalism was the primary force. Increasingly, metis individuals and families were forced to make the decision of whether to participate in the fur trade or to continue their more sedentary involvement in subsistence agriculture. The choice was made all the more decisive by the withdrawal of the buffalo westward. In the 1850s and 1860s this division (although not absolute) occurred along fault lines delineated by familial and cultural traditions which had arisen in the fur trade (Hudson's Bay Company -- North West Company). While St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's can be regarded as representative of the two patterns of economic adaptation after the 1840s, this split was not strictly parish specific. Some metis from St. Andrew's entered the buffalo-robe trade, and some from St. Francois Xavier remained farmers. An example of such a split within a parish was the migration of hunters and traders out of St. Andrew's to Portage La Prairie in the early 1850s.

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[3] Hans Medick, "The proto-industrial family economy: the structural function of household and family during the transition from peasant society to industrial capitalism," 301.

[4] PAM, St. Andrew's Parish Lot Files.

This divergence of metis communities can be seen in the family dynamics of the two parishes. The proto-industrialization of the metis family economy consequent on participation in the buffalo-robe trade had implications for family formation and fertility -- differing from those metis involved in peasant agriculture. As the labour of wives and children as well as the husband became crucial in the preparation of robes for market, earlier marriage and large families became economically advantageous. In addition, earnings not property became the pre-requisite for family formation and marriage. Indications that metis communities were diverging on these lines can be seen in the younger age at marriage and larger families of St. Francois Xavier metis as compared to those of St. Andrew's metis.

These economic developments not only split the metis along occupational and cultural lines, but began to bifurcate Red River metis society on economic and class lines. Social and economic divisions within metis society became much more distinct in the 1850s and 1860s with the emergence of an identifiable metis bourgeoisie or merchant class who employed large numbers of metis as labourers. Concomitant to this was the emergence of a metis labouring class. That there was a clear absence of identity between metis classes is evident in the resistance of 1869-70 when many metis merchants, traders, and their kin opposed Riel. Riel's supporters, on the other hand, included young metis outside the power structure of Red River politics, and his soldiers were drawn from the poorer metis who laboured annually on the York boats and cart brigades. These facts lend some credence to the idea that the resistance of 1869-70 is more profitably understood in the light of "interest group" and "class" politics than as a "national" rising. Certainly the Red River metis represented no "new nation" despite the proclamations of the Provisional Government and Riel. While Riel and his followers cultivated "nation" symbolism whenever possible this did not unite the Settlement, the metis or even the French metis.

The idea of metis nationality only gained widespread acceptance among the Red River metis after 1870. In particular, it was the behaviour of Wolseley's troops and recent Ontario immigrants, combined with the land question of the early 1870s which finally united the metis. The dispersal of the metis in Manitoba and the rapid influx of Canadian settlers, however, insured that the fullest expression of this idea of nationality would come further west among the plains metis.

APPENDIX A

THE RED RIVER CENSUSES - 1835, 1849, 1870

The enumeration of the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement began with the agents of Lord Selkirk almost as soon as the colony was founded.[1] After 1824 the Hudson's Bay Company began more systematic censuses taken at the end of the fiscal year in May.[2] Surviving nominal censuses for the settlement before 1870 included inventories for the years 1824, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1849, and an incomplete census for the year 1856.

These censuses were organized by family with only the male head of families named in the census (female heads of family were listed when there was no male head of family). While the censuses did list the total family size, and enumerate those male children over and under the age of 16, and female children over and under the age of 15, they did not distinguish between natural children and adopted dependents. While adoption may have been a common occurrence it was not indicated in the censuses and therefore not accounted for in the analyses. Also included in these enumerations were the number of cultivated acres, buildings, livestock, farm implements, boats and carts. Parish of residence, however, was not indicated. Thus, in order to analyze the population characteristics, persistence, land holding, and cultivation in the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier, these censuses had to be reconstructed before they were computerized. The manner in which this was done will be described in detail below.

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[1] Approximately thirty such inventories are found in the Selkirk Papers, National Archives of Canada (NAC).

[2] See the introduction to D. N. Sprague and R. P. Frye, The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement 1820-1900 (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), 29-30.

The choice of censuses analyzed (1835, 1849, 1870) was in great measure determined by the nature of the existing records. The 1835 census was chosen as a starting point for the study of the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's because it coincided most closely with the inauguration of parish activity and the regular maintenance of parish registers in these parishes.[3] Of the early Red River censuses, the 1835 census is also the most useful in determining the geographic location of the family heads listed. In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company also resurveyed the old lots in the Red River Settlement and extended the limits of vacant surveyed land north and south along the Red River and westward along the Assiniboine.[4] At the same time the survey was conducted the Hudson's Bay Company also prepared a land register reflecting existing land ownership to 1835.[5] This record can then be correlated to the 1835 census to determine parish of residence for at least the legally titled landowners of the Red River Settlement.[6]

Since no complete census exists for any of the years between 1849 and 1870, the next census year chosen for analysis was 1849, since it was the best midpoint between 1835 and 1870. The last census analyzed was the 1870 census because it was the last census for which it was possible to determine cultivation and residency without a great deal more work. The 1881 census was used, however, to determine persistence of families to 1881, and this was coded with the data from the 1870 census. The laborious task of coding the entire 1881 census for the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier would not have been worth the information extracted. Additionally, the 1881 census boundaries had little relation to the old parish boundaries making an accurate calculation of who lived in St. Andrew's and St. Francois Xavier problematic at best.

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[3] Official parish registers for St. Francois Xavier began in 1834, while those for St. Andrew's began in 1835. These registers are available in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM MG7).

[4] This survey was conducted by George Taylor, and the resultant map is preserved in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg (HBCA).

[5] Memoranda Respecting Grants of Land No.1 and 2, HBCA E.6/7-8.

[6] See Douglas Sprague and Ronald Frye, "Manitoba's Red River Settlement: Manuscript Sources for Economic and Demographic History," Archivaria 9 (Winter 1979-80): 185.

For each of the three censuses analyzed (1835, 1849, 1870) the variables of "persistent at next census" and "migrant at next census" were also coded.[7] This was calculated manually rather than using some automatic record linkage method because the spelling of names changed from census to census, in some cases dramatically, and birth dates were seldom consistent. In cases where persons of the same name were close to the same age, recourse was made to parish registers to check on the family size to identify the individual. The relatively small numbers involved in working only with the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's made manual record linkage not only possible but desirable. In this way it was also possible to control for deaths of family heads between census years without a great deal of extra work by cross referencing the census with the burial records of the respective parishes. Thus someone who was not persistent from one census to the next was not considered a migrant if his death was recorded in the parish registers in the intervening years.[8]

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[7] "Next Census" in the sense used here refers to the next census utilized in this study. The next census for 1835 would be 1849, for 1849 it would be 1870, and for 1870 it would be 1881.

The 1835 Census

Determining those families resident in the Parish of St. Francois Xavier in 1835, proved little problem since the census district of "Grantown" was exactly coterminous with that of the parish.[9] Calculating residency for the Parish of St. Andrew's proved more difficult as it was located in the census district called the "Lower Settlement," which included all parishes on the Red River except the Indian Settlement. To discover who was living in St. Andrew's in 1835, involved a number of steps. The first step involved identifying those St. Andrew's landowners listed in the Hudson's Bay Company's land register.[10] Since this listing did not include those who squatted on parish land, these residents were determined by reference to the parish registers of St. Andrew's. The rule followed was that if family heads listed in the 1835 census appeared in these parish registers in the succeeding five years after 1835, they were determined to have been resident in St. Andrew's at the time of the census. While this method probably missed a few individuals, and included a few that should not have been, the result should be reasonably accurate. Comparison to enumerations of St. Andrew's population made by Rev. Cockran in this period bear this out.[11] Each of the heads of family included as resident in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's in 1835, were given a personal identification number as well as a household identification number.[12]

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[8] For an overview of the methods and problems of both manual and automatic record linkage for census data see: Ian Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records by Man and Computer: Techniques and Problems," Journal of Interdisciplinary History I (1970): 107-124. Michael B. Katz and John Tiller, "Record Linkage for Every-man: A Semi-Automated Process," Historical Methods Newsletter V (1972). Ian Winchester, "A brief survey of the algorithmic, mathematical and philosophical literature relevant to historical record linkage," in Identifying People in the Past, ed. E. A. Wrigley (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 128-150. Dennis Kelly, "Linking Nineteenth-Century Manuscript Census Records: A Computer Strategy," Historical Methods Newsletter VII (1974). Christian Pouyez, Raymond Roy, and Francois Martin, "The Linkage of Census Name Data: Problems and Procedures," Journal of Interdisciplinary History XIV, 1 (Summer 1983): 129-152.

[9] This census included both heads of families legally entitled to their lots and squatters. This is immediately apparent when comparing the census to the Hudson's Bay Company Land Register 'B'.

[10] HBCA, e.6/7-8, Memoranda Respecting Grants of Land No. 1 and 2.

The extra variables added to the 1835 census include "persistence at next census" and "migrant at next census." All heads of families appearing in the 1835 census and also appearing in the 1849 census were coded as persistent.[13] Those that were not persistent and who had not died in the intervening period were coded as migrants.[14] While only heads of families were listed in the census, the results obtained were attributed to the family as a whole. For instance, if John Doe appeared in the 1835 census, but not in the 1849 census, and it was discovered that he had died in the parish in 1844, John Doe was coded as non-persistent but also non-migrant if his widow or sons showed up in the 1849 census.

The 1849 Census

As in 1835 one of the census districts in 1849 was "Grantown", which was still almost co-terminus with the Parish of St. Francois Xavier. It did include some of what was later to become the Parish of Baie St. Paul, but this was controlled for in determining persistence at the next census. Again, as in 1835, it was more difficult to determine residency in St. Andrew's. Census divisions along the Red River included the "Catholic Settlement", the "Royal Pensioners at Upper Fort Garry", the "Protestant Settlement" and the "Swampy Village".[15] St. Andrew's fell within the Protestant settlement which included the parishes of what were later known as St. John's, St. Paul's, Kildonan, and St. James.

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[11] By my calculations the population of the Parish of St. Andrew's at census time in 1835 was 97 families and 546 individuals. Some three months after the census was taken Rev. William Cockran, a minister of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at St. Andrew's, estimated there were 102 families averaging 5 to 6 individuals per family in the parish. CMS Records, Incoming Correspondence, Letter Book II (Reel 3), 62-69. "Report of the State of Religion, Morality, and Education at R.R.S. and Grand Rapids by Rev. Jones and Cockran".

[12] In some cases a comment in the manuscript census stated that a certain family head lived with someone else. In cases such as this family heads were assigned to the household in which they resided.

[13] Checking for persistence from one census to the next was done manually by comparing names, birth dates, and checking with parish registers where there was some doubt.

[14] Both parish burial records and parish lot files were checked to determine if heads of families had died in the period between 1835 and 1849.

Isolating St. Andrew's residents from this group involved utilizing the Hudson's Bay Company Land Register,[16] which resembled an Abstract Book for a Land Titles Office recording not only company sales and grants to settlers, but also recording successive owners.[17] This land register indicated those residents who had legal title to their St. Andrew's lots, but did not include squatters or those who did not have legal title to land, but who nevertheless appeared in the 1849 census. To account for these settlers, recourse was made to parish registers. Those heads of family who appeared in the census and also showed up in the parish records five years previous or five years after 1849, were included as St. Andrew's residents at the time of the census.[18]

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[15] Swampy Village referred to the Indian Settlement at the lower end of the Red River near Lake Winnipeg, which later became known as St. Peter's Dynevor. The only other census district was the "Sauteaux Village" along the Assiniboine, which later became the core of the Parish of Baie St. Paul.

[16] HBCA, E.6/2, Land Register 'B'. A different more complete copy of this register is also available at the NAC on aperture cards, book number 185.

[17] As Sprague and Frye noted in "Manuscript Sources for Economic and Demographic History", using Land Register 'B' as an Abstract Book poses a number of problems, not the least of which is the existence of two different copies. The copy available in the HBCA has fewer entries and appears to have been a duplicate copy that was not regularly updated. The second copy in existence was the one used by the Department of the Interior in its administration of Manitoba's parish lands in the 1870s, and has more entries. There were, however, allegations in the 1870s that this copy, which disappeared briefly during the 1869-70 resistance, contained some fraudulent entries. Lieutenant Governor Archibald, however, was convinced these allegations were false and sent a copy of the register to Ottawa. Lacking any better source this land register has been used to determine St. Andrew's residency in 1849.

If there is one problem with this methodology, it is in the fact that a small section of the lower end of the Parish of St. Andrew's became part of the Parish of St. Clement's in the 1860s. Thus it is possible that someone listed as a St. Andrew's resident in 1849 would not appear in the St. Andrew's census district of 1870, despite the fact that he had never moved. Therefore, in determining persistence at the next census for the 1849 census this boundary change was controlled for. Any 1849 head of family not found in St. Andrew's in 1870, but located in St. Clement's was considered persistent.

The 1870 Census

Unlike the previous two censuses the 1870 census was explicit on the question of parish of residence. In addition, this census also listed every individual. To make it more comparable with the other two censuses, however, it was coded by heads of family. This was made possible because the census listed every individual with his or her father's name, making it possible to distinguish heads of family from children, and to draw boundaries between one family and the next.[19]

The order of listings in the census also followed a fairly regular pattern of geographical distribution that can, in large part, be traced lot by lot through the maps of the parishes.[20] This facilitated the identification of households. Those heads of families not owning any land or buildings, but listed next to a father or father-in-law were assumed to be part of that household. In the case where an older parent was evidently living with a married child, and the land was legally owned by the child, the child was considered the head of the household. While this method of assigning household I.D. numbers was judged to be fairly reliable, the absence of any independent check eliminated the household as a unit of analysis, at least with census data. The unit of analysis, as in the previous two censuses, remained the nuclear family.

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[18] While there is no direct corroborating evidence in the CMS records for the Population of St. Andrew's in 1849, Rev. William Cockran did note in 1845 that his congregation consisted of 130 families. By my calculations the Parish of St. Andrew's at census time in 1849, consisted of 189 families. Given the natural increase in population in the intervening four years, and the fact that Cockran's congregation did not include the entire parish, this number should be fairly accurate. CMS Records, Incoming Correspondence, Letter of William Cockran to Sec., July 30, 1845 (Reel 4), 530.

[19] Children who were obviously adopted or living with other than their natural parents were included in the family totals of their adopted family, but were not included in the subtotals of daughters over and under the age of 15, or sons over and under the age of 16. Widowers and widows were entered separately even when they were part of the household of their married children.

Unlike the 1835 and 1849 censuses, the 1870 census did not provide information on cultivated acreage, buildings, livestock, farm implements, cart, or boats. To make up for this deficiency, information on cultivated acreage and buildings was added to the census from surveyors' reports.[21] These survey returns along with the information found in the Parish lot files[22] made it possible to establish the acreage of each lot, the person occupying the lot in 1870, and the number of buildings and amount of land under cultivation at the time of survey. A number of lots, it turns out, were owned by persons not resident in the parish (according to the 1870 census). Where it was not obvious that someone in the parish was residing on one of these lots and cultivating the land,[23] these lots and the cultivated acreage and buildings on them were not included in the totals. This did not affect the analysis to any extent since only 16 cultivated acres and 12 buildings were excluded in St. Andrew's, and only 12 cultivated acres and 7 buildings in St. Francois Xavier.

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[20] D. N. Sprague, "Introduction," The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation, 34.

[21] The parish lots of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were surveyed between 1871 and 1873. The Register of Surveyors' returns for St. Francois Xavier and st. Andrew's, listing the right angled width of the lot, its mean depth, the number of acres, the name of the owner or occupant at the time of the survey, the number of buildings on the lot, number of acres ploughed, fenced or cultivated, and how long the lot had been occupied, can be found in the PAM. These registers were uncatalogued when the author used them.

[22] PAM, RG 17, D2, Parish Lot Files. These records were files kept by the Department of the Interior pertaining to the ownership and patenting of each river lot in the settlement. In addition to including surveyors' reports on occupancy and improvements, these files contained statutory declarations and affidavits by the claimants and witnesses to support their claims to the land. Other relevant documents found in these files were correspondence from registry offices, reports from Dominion Land Agents, homestead inspectors' reports, and in many cases wills of the original owners to prove the transmission of title in the absence of an entry in the H.B.Co. Land Register. Some files are missing from the set found in the PAM. These were files retained by the Department of the Interior when the records were transferred to the Province in 1930. These missing files are now located in NAC, RG 15, Vols. 140-168, Manitoba Act Files.

While the 1881 census was not computerized for this study, it was utilized to determine persistence at next census and migrant at next census for the 1870 census. Census divisions numbers 14 and 15, in the Census District of Marquette (#186), which encompassed the Parish of St. Francois Xavier, and Division numbers 21 and 22 in the Census District of Lisgar (#185), which encompassed the Parish of St. Andrew's, were checked to see if the 1870 residents of these parishes were still persistent. The problem in 1881 was that the census districts were considerably larger in extent than the parishes, and no longer followed the river lot boundaries. For this reason it would be possible that someone who had left the parish could still appear as persistent.

To make up for this deficiency, and to take the study up to 1890, land records were also added to the census. Using the Abstract Books of the Winnipeg Land Titles Office along with the parish lot files, it was possible to code the persistence of lot owners in the two parishes. Those owning, or in possession of river lots in 1870 were considered to be in possession of the land until the lot passed out of the family. Thus if someone owning lot x in 1870 died in 1873 and left his river lot to his son-in-law, this was considered to still be in possession of the family. In this way the variables of "possession of lot to 1881" and "possession of lot to 1890" were added to the census. If someone owned multiple lots, the last lot in possession of the family was used in the calculation of this variable (see code book attached). This reconstructed census provides enough information to undertake a study of persistence, land holding, and agriculture in the parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's up to 1890.

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[23] One case in which it was clearly obvious that someone other than the official owner was residing on and cultivating a parish lot concerned lot 64 in St. Andrew's. According to the Parish Lot Files and the Land Titles Office this lot was owned by A. K. Isbister (noted British pedagogue of Rupert's Land who had been in Britain since the 1840s), who did not appear at all in the 1870 Census. The order in which the census listed the inhabitants of St. Andrew's, on the other hand, suggested that the family of William Kennedy was living on the lot. The difference of family names, however, raised some doubts. The problem cleared up when a check of the parish registers revealed that A. K. Isbister (whose full name was Alexander Kennedy Isbister) was in fact the grandson of Alexander Kennedy and the nephew of William Kennedy. In this case lot 64 was then assigned to William Kennedy.

WORKING CODE BOOK FOR R.R.SETTLEMENT CENSUS DATA (1835-1849)

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
	RECORD 1 (GPSCOR DATA)	
1.Person I.D.(PID)	1-4	
2.Name	6-25	
3.Sex	26	
4.Birthyear	31-34	0=unknown
Record # 1	79	
	RECORD 2 (OMR DATA)	
Person I.D.	1-4	
5.Household I.D.	6-9	
Card #2	11	
6.Census Year	13-14	
7.Race	16	1=European 2=metis 3=Indian 0=unknown
8.Religion	18	1=Roman Catholic 2=Protestant 3=Other 0=Unknown
9.Birthplace	20	1=R.R.S. or N.W.T. 2=Canada 3=England 4=Orkney Islands 5=Scotland 6=Ireland 7=U.S.A. 8=France 9=Other 0=Unknown

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
10.Parish of Res.	22	1=St. Andrew's 2=St. Francois Xavier
11.Status of I.D.	24	1=Male Head of H. 2=Female Head of H. 3=Other 0=Unknown
12.Family Size	26-27	99=Missing data
13.Sons Under 16	29-30	99=Missing data
14.Sons over 16	32-33	99=Missing data
15.Daugh. under 15	35-36	99=Missing data
16.Daugh. over 15	38-39	99=Missing data
17.Cult. Acreage	41-43	999=Missing data
18.Buildings	47-48	99=Missing data
19.Horses	50-52	999=Missing data
20.Cattle	54-56	999=Missing data
21.Pigs	58-60	999=Missing data
22.Total Livestock	62-64	999=Missing data
23.Farm Implements	66-67	99=Missing data
24.Carts	69-70	99=Missing data
25.Boats	72-73	99=Missing data
26.Persistence at next census	75	1=yes 2=no 0=Unknown
27.Migrant at next census	77	1=yes 2=no 0=Unknown
28.Record #2	79	

WORKING CODE BOOK FOR R.R.SETTLEMENT CENSUS DATA (1870)

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
RECORD 1 (GPSCOR DATA)		
1.Person I.D.(PID)	1-4	
2.Name	6-25	
3.Sex	26	
4.Birthyear	31-34	0=unknown
Record # 1	79	
RECORD 2 (OMR DATA)		
Person I.D.	1-4	
5.Household I.D.	6-9	
6.Census Year	13-14	
7.Race	16	1=European 2=metis 3=Indian 0=unknown
8.Religion	18	1=Roman Catholic 2=Protestant 3=Other 0=Unknown
9.Birthplace	20	1=R.R.S. or N.W.T. 2=Canada 3=England 4=Orkney Islands 5=Scotland 6=Ireland 7=U.S.A. 8=France 9=Other 0=Unknown

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
10.Parish of Res.	22	1=St. Andrew's 2=St. Francois Xavier
11.Status of I.D.	24	1=Male Head of H. 2=Female Head of H. 3=Other 0=Unknown
12.Family Size	26-27	99=Missing data
13.Sons under 16	29-30	99=Missing data
14.Sons over 16	32-33	99=Missing data
15.Daugh. under 15	35-36	99=Missing data
16.Daugh. over 15	38-39	99=Missing data
17.Cult. Acreage	41-43	999=Missing data
18.Buildings	47-48	99=Missing data
19.Home Lot Number	50-52	0=none or unknown
20.Lot #2	54-56	
21.Lot #3	58-60	
22.Lot #4	62-64	
23.Total Acres	66-68	
24.Sale Date	70-71	0=Not Relevant 1=Unknown 99=Possession after 1890
26.Persistence at next census	75	1=yes 2=no 0=Unknown
27.Migrant at next census	77	1=yes 2=no 0=Unknown
28.Record #2	79	

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
29.Possession of lot to 1881	81	1=yes 2=no 0=Unknown
30.Possession of lot to 1890	83	1=yes 2=no 0=Unknown

APPENDIX B

The N.W.H.B. Scrip Applications

The 'North West Half Breed' (N.W.H.B) Scrip Commissions arose directly from the action taken at Duck Lake, and were a result of several years of complaints and evidence that the metis and Indians of the Northwest were mobilizing forces to gain recognition of their land rights in the Northwest.[1] The government had earlier decided on January 28, 1885, to establish an enumeration of metis in the Northwest who would have been entitled to land had they resided in Manitoba at the time of the transfer, and filed their claims under the Manitoba Act. The legislative basis for the N.W.H.B. Scrip Commissions was the 'Dominion Lands' Act which provided the jurisdiction to satisfy any existing claims connected with the extinguishment of Indian Title preferred by metis residing in the N.W.T. who were outside the limits of the Province of Manitoba previous to July 15, 1870.[2]

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[1] Ken Hatt, "The North-West Rebellion Scrip Commissions, 1885-1889," in 1885 and After: Native Society in Transition, eds. F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1986), 191-192.

To date very little has been written about the scrip commissions and even less about the distribution and alienation of scrip, and its impact on Metis society. See W. P. R. Street and H. H. Langton, "The Commission of 1885 to the North-West Territories," Canadian Historical Review XXV (March, 1944). W. P. Fillmore, "Half-Breed Scrip," Manitoba Bar News 39, no. 2 (1973), reprinted in The Other Natives: the-les Metis, eds. Antoine S. Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, eds (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1978). D.J. Hall, "The Half-Breed Claims Commission," Alberta History 25 (1977). Joe Sawchuck, Patricia Sawchuck, Theresa Ferguson, Metis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History (Edmonton: Metis Association of Alberta, 1981), 87-158.

[2] Ken Hatt, "The North-West Rebellion Scrip Commissions," 193.

The scrip commission established in 1885 extended the right to make application for either land or money scrip to any metis residing in the North West Territories as of July 15, 1870. Children of half-breed heads of family were to receive scrip worth $240 or 240 acres of land, while heads of family were to receive scrip worth $160 or 160 acres of land. Between April 10 and August 28 of 1885, commissioners travelled to metis communities throughout the northwest taking applications and affividavits related to individual metis claims. This Commission was extended in 1886 and again in 1887 to include those metis missed in 1885. Applications were, in fact, accepted for this class of claims by other scrip commissions up to 1921.

These applications and affidavits gave fairly complete biographical information for each metis appearing before the Commission. Because the same questions were asked of each applicant this information provided a uniform base for comparative analysis. Applicants were not only asked when and where they were born but also all prior places of residence, making it was possible to use these applications to analyze emigration from Red River prior to 1870 -- those leaving Red River or Manitoba after 1870 would have taken Manitoba Scrip and thus would not have eligible for N.W.H.B. scrip.

To make use of this data, all biographical information was extracted from the applications of those metis who had previously resided in Red River and had left before July 15, 1870 (606 individuals). The information from these applications was then coded into the computer and used as a quantitative base for the statistical analysis of emigration from Manitoba (see code book).

This data base for metis emigration, although not complete, should be representative of metis migration to the North West Territories before 1870. The three sources of systematic bias in these applications were that they would not have included those metis individuals who migrated to the United States and remained there since they would not have applied for scrip in Canada. Secondly, those metis who entered an Indian Treaty and did not subsequently leave the treaty would also not have applied for scrip. Finally, scrip records would tend to under report migration in the very early period as these individuals would not have been alive in 1885 when the scrip affidavits were taken. There were numerous cases of metis leaving Red River for North Dakota, Minnesota and Montana who subsequently returned to Canada to apply for scrip, but there were no doubt many more who remained in the States. Similarly, while there were many Red River metis emigrants who entered Indian Treaties and subsequently withdrew from Treaty Status to take scrip, there were many who remained Treaty Indians and thus invisible to this mode of determining metis emigration. Despite these sources of bias, these scrip applications remain the best and most accurate source in determining the date of migration of specific individuals and their destination.

TABLE 33

Destination at First and Subsequent Migrations and Location in 1885 -- All Parishes 1830-1869

DESTINATION	1st Mig. No %	2nd Mig. No %	3rd Mig. No %	4th Mig. No %	LOC 85 No %
Lake Manitoba	2 (.3)	8 (2.2)	3 (2.8)	---	29 (5.1)
L. Winnipegosis	2 (.3)	3 (.8)	---	---	1 (.2)
L. Winnipeg	1 (.2)	1 (.3)	---	---	1 (.2)
Norway House	5 (.8)	[illegible] (.5)	1 (.9)	---	2 (.3)
Grand Rapids	10 (1.7)	4 (1.1)	1 (.9)	---	6 (1.0)
The Pas	24 (4.0)	10 (2.7)	3 (2.8)	---	23 (4.0)
York Factory	2 (.3)	1 (.9)	---	---	---
Riding Mountain	5 (.8)	---	---	---	1 (.2)
Oak Lake	---	1 (.3)	---	---	---
Pembina Mtns	7 (1.2)	5 (1.3)	2 (1.9)	---	6 (1.0)
Pembina	2 (.3	---	---	---	---
Souris River	1 (.2)	---	1 (.9)	---	---
Fort Pelly	10 (1.7)	1 (.3)	2 (1.9)	1 (2.6)	4 (.7)
Turtle Mtn	---	1 (.3)	---	4 (10.5)	5 (.9)
Moose Mtn	---	1 (.3)	---	---	1 (.2)
Qu' Appelle	95 (16)	40 (11)	8 (7.5)	2 (5.3)	99 (17.2)
Fort Ellice	18 (3)	4 (1.1)	---	---	4 (.7)
Moose Jaw	2 (.3)	---	---	---	---
Swift Current	---	11 (3)	1 (.9)	2 (5.3)	14 (2.4)
Wood Mountain	51 (8.4)	29 (8)	7 (6.5)	1 (2.6)	32 (5.6)
Touchwood Hills	11 (1.8)	2 (.5)	---	---	4 (.7)
Saskatoon	4 (.7)	1 (.3)	---	---	1 (.2)
Sask Forks	41 (7)	67 (18)	15 (14)	9 (24)	105 (18.3)
Battleford	3 (.5)	11 (3)	3 (2.8)	---	15 (2.6)
Fort Pitt	16 (2.6)	3 (.8)	1 (.9)	---	1 (.2)
Isle a la Crosse	4 (.7)	7 (1.9)	---	1 (2.6)	1 (.2)
Green Lake	1 (.2)	2 (.5)	---	---	---
Lac la Biche	15 (2.5)	4 (1.1)	2 (1.9)	---	13 (2.3)
L. Slave Lake	3 (.5)	---	2 (1.9)	---	3 (.5)
Grand Cache	---	---	---	---	---
Peace River	2 (.3)	---	1 (.9)	---	4 (.7)
Wabiscaw	---	1 (.3)	---	---	1 (.2)
Lake Athabasca	6 (1)	---	---	1 (2.6)	4 (.7)
Great Slave Lake	3 (.5)	---	2 (1.9)	---	3 (.5)
Peel's River	1 (.2)	---	---	---	---
Fort Edmonton	47 (7.8)	59 (15.9)	4 (3.7)	2 (5.3)	69 (12)
Victoria	61 (10.1)	4 (1.1)	2 (1.9)	---	25 (4.4)
St. Paul	---	1 (.3)	---	---	1 (.2)
Mackenzie River	1 (.2)	2 (.5)	---	1 (2.6)	---
Battle River	6 (1)	7 (1.9)	---	1 (2.6)	6 (1)
Buffalo Lake	5 (.8)	5 (1.3)	7 (6.5)	---	---

DESTINATION	1st Mig. No %	2nd Mig. No %	3rd Mig. No %	4th Mig. No %	LOC 85 No %
Red Deer	---	---	---	---	1 (.2)
Calgary	---	20 (5.4)	16 (15)	7 (18.4)	40 (7)
Ft. McLeod	---	4 (1.1)	3 (2.8)	1 (2.6)	8 (1.4)
Cypress Hills	21 (3.5)	26 (7)	15 (14)	1 (2.6)	28 (4.9)
Milk River	---	3 (.8)	1 (.9)	---	---
Judith Basin	---	6 (1.6)	3 (7.9)	---	---
English River	---	1 (.3)	1 (.9)	---	---
Red River	---	13 (3.5)	---	1 (2.6)	9 (1.6)
Devil's Lake ND	1 (.2)	1 (.3)	---	---	---

WORKING CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS - MIGRATION DATA

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
	RECORD 1 (GPSCOR DATA)	
1.Person I.D.(PID)	1-4	
2.Name	6-25	
3.Sex	27	
4.Birthyear	31-34	0=unknown
Record # 1	69	
	RECORD 2 (OMR DATA)	
Person I.D.	1-4	
5.Father I.D.	6-9	0=Unknown
6.Mother I.D.	11-14	0=Unknown
7.Current Spouse I.D.	16-19	0=Unknown or Not relevant
8.Birthplace	21	1=R.R.S. 2=NWT 3=USA 4=Great Lakes 5=Canada 0=Unknown
9.Status at Mig.	23	1=Male head of family 2=Female head of fam 3=metis Child 4=Other 0=Unknown
10.Scrip type	25	1=money 2=land 0=Unknown
11.Date of 1st Marriage	27-30	0=Unmarried

CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS contd

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
12.Location of Marr	32	1=R.R.S. 2=NWT 3=USA 4=Great Lakes 5=Canada 0=Unknown
13.Date of Mig from R.R.S.	34-35	0=Unknown
14.Age at Mig	37-38	0=Unknown
15.Martial status at migration	40	1=Married 2=single 3=widowed 0=unknown
16.Parish of Res. in R.R.S.	42-43	1=St.Peter's 2=St.Clement's 3=St.Andrew's 4=St.Paul's 5=St.John's 6=Winnipeg-Ft.Garry 7=St.Boniface 8=St.Norbert 9=St.Vital 10=St.Anne des Chenes 11=St.Charles 12=St.James 13=High Bluff 14=Poplar Point 15=St. Francois Xav. 16=Portage la Prairie 17=Scratching River 18=Kildonan 19=Ste.Agathe 20=Baie St.Paul 21=Headingly 00=Unknown
17.1st occup.	45	1=HBC Servant 2=Farmer 3=Hunter-trapper-fish 4=Labourer-tripman 5=Teacher-missionary

CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS contd

VARIABLE	COLUMN LOCATION	VALUE DESCRIPTION
		6=Tradesman-other 7=Indep. Fur Trader
18.Has taken treaty	47	1=yes 2=no 0=unknown
19.Scrip Date	49	1=1885 2=1886-87 3=1899 4=1921 0=Unknown
20.Destination at 1st migration	51-52	See attached list
21.Dest. 2nd Mig.	54-55	See attached list
22.Dest. 3rd Mig.	57-58	See attached list
23.Dest. 4th Mig.	60-61	See attached list
24.Dest. 5th Mig.	63-64	See attached list
25.Location in 1885	66-67	See attached list
26.Record #2	69	

CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS contd

Location Values for Variables 20 to 25 (destination of Mig.)

1.Lake Manitoba Area
  St. Laurent
  Oak Point
  Narrows
  Sandy Bay
  Fairford House (Mission)
  Waterhen River
  Manitoba House
  Whitemud River

2.Lake Winnipegosis Area
  Duck Bay
  Swan Lake
  Shoal River

3.Lake Winnipeg Area (east side)
  Berens River

4.Norway House Area
  Cross Lake
  Trout Lake

5.Grand Rapids Area
  Moose Lake
  Mossy Portage

6.The Pas Area
  Cumberland House

7.York Factory Area
  Fort Nelson

8.Riding Mountain Area

9.Oak Lake Area
  Plum Creek

10.Pembina

11.Devils Lake (North Dakota)

12. Pembina Mt. Area
  St. Joseph
  Olga

CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS contd (Destination of Migrants)

13.Souris River Area (Forks of the Souris and Assiniboine)
    Brandon House

14.Fort Pelly - Swan River Area

15.Turtle Mountain Area

16.Moose Mountain Area

17.Qu' Appelle Valley Area
    Fort Qu' Appelle
    Regina
    Crooked Lake

18.Fort Ellice Area
    Broadview

19.Moose Jaw Area
    Old Wives Lake

20.Swift Current

21.Wood Mountain Area
    Willow Bunch
    Dung Hill

22.Touchwood Hills

23.Saskatoon

24.Saskatchewan Forks Area
    Prince Albert
    Duck Lake
    St. Laurent
    Carlton
    Batoche
    Fort a la Corne

25.Battleford Area

26.Fort Pitt Area
    Frog Lake

27.Isle a la Crosse

28.Green Lake

29.Lac la Biche Area
    Grandin

CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS contd (Destination of Migrants)

30.Lesser Slave Lake Area
  Athabasca River (upper)

31.Grande Cache Area
  Sheep Creek

32.Peace River Area
  Fort Vermillion
  Peace River Landing

33.Fort St. John

34.Wabiscaw

35.Lake Athabasca Area
  Fond du Lac
  Fort Chip
  Smith Landing

36.Fort McMurray

37.Great Slave Lake Area
  Fort Providence
  Fort Resolution

38.Peels River - Fort McPherson

39.Mackenzie River Area.
  Fort Laird
  Fort Simpson
  Wrigley

40.Fort Edmonton Area
  St. Albert
  Lac Ste. Anne
  Big Lake
  Fort Saskatchewan

41.Victoria - Pakan Area
  Beaverhill

42.St. Paul - Saddle Lake Area
  Whitefish Lake

43.Battle River Area

44.Buffalo Lake
  Bull Lake

CODE BOOK FOR SCRIP RECORDS contd (Destination of Migrants)

45.Red Deer River Area
    Red Deer

46.Calgary Area
    Gleichen
    Stobart
    Kirkpatrick

47.Fort Mcleod Area
    Pincher Creek
    Old Man River

48.Cypress Hills Area
    Maple Creek
    Fort Walsh
    Medicine Hat

49.Milk River Area

50.Judith Basin Area
    Lewistown

51.English River and East

52.Red River

53.Destination Unknown
    Tabacco Mountain
    Petit Fourche

99.Migrant deceased

0.No Migration (not relevant)

APPENDIX C

Buffalo Robe Prices in Various Markets 1836-1876

	R. R.[1]	Montreal[2]	St.Paul	St.Louis	New Orleans[3]
1836	1.22[4]	----	----	----	----
1837	----	----	----	----	----
1838	----	----	----	----	----
1839	----	----	----	----	----
1840	----	----	----	----	----
1841	2.43[5]	----	----	----	----
1842	----	----	----	----	5.00[6]
1843	----	----	----	----	----
1844	----	----	----	----	4.00[7]
1845	----	----	----	----	5.00[8]
1846	----	----	----	----	5.50[9]
1847	----	4.48[10]	3.50[11]	----	6.00[12]
1848	----	4.48[13]	----	----	6.50[14]
1849	----	3.59[15]	----	----	7.00[16]
1850	----	3.55[17]	----	----	6.50[18]
1851	----	4.04[19]	----	----	7.00[20]
1852	----	4.74[21]	----	----	7.50[22]
1853	----	4.86[23]	----	----	7.50[24]
1854	----	5.53[25]	----	----	8.00[26]
1855	----	----	----	----	----
1856	----	----	5.50[27]	----	----
1857	----	----	----	----	----
1858	----	4.84[28]	----	----	----
1859	2.43[29]	----	----	4.00[30]	----
1860	1.94[31]	----	----	3.25[32]	----
1861	1.94[33]	----	----	----	----
1862	3.16[34]	----	----	----	----
1863	2.43[35]	4.85[36]	----	----	----
1864	2.43[37]	----	----	----	----
1865	----	5.63[38]	8.00[39]	----	----
1866	----	----	----	----	----
1867	----	6.90[40]	----	----	----
1868	----	6.50[41]	----	----	----
1869	----	7.11[42]	----	----	----
1870	4.80[43]	9.37[44]	----	----	----
1871	----	7.39[45]	----	----	----
1872	----	7.29[46]	----	----	----
1873	----	8.56[47]	----	----	----
1874	10.00[48]	8.32[49]	----	----	----
1875	----	5.76[50]	----	----	----
1876	----	3.87[51]	----	----	----

NOTES - Buffalo Robe Prices

1. This price represents the price of prime robes in the settlement. The conversion rate of pound sterling to dollar was 1 pound = $4.86. This was the exchange rate set by the Government of Canada in 1867, and remained quite stable through the latter part of the 19th century.

2. These prices represent the average price of of all Hudson's Bay Company buffalo robes sold by auction in Montreal that year. The conversion rate from Pound sterling to dollars was 1 pound = $4.86.

3. These prices represent the average price of all buffalo robes reported sold in New Orleans.

4. Standing Rules and Regulations of the Hudson's Bay Company Northern Department, June 23, 1936. Reprinted in Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Vol. 10 (1913), 842-843.

5. Price list for various Returns of Trade for Hudson's Bay Company Northern Department, 1841. Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Vol. 10 (1913), 859-861.

6. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (October 1842), 391.

7. Ibid., (November 1844), 420.

8. Ibid., (October 1845), 372.

9. Ibid., (October 1846), 407-408.

10. HBCA, A14/38, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".
These prices represent the average sale price of HBC robes sold in Montreal that year.

11. Wayne Gard, The Great Buffalo Hunt, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959), 52.

12. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (October 1847), 415.

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14. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (November 1848), 511.

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17. HBCA, A14/42, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

18. Ibid., (December 1850), 536.

19. HBCA, A14/43, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

20. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (November 1951), 602.

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22. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (November 1852), 489.

23. HBCA, A14/46, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

24. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (December 1853), 625.

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26. Merchants Magazine and Commericial Review, (October 1854), 475.

27. Ibid., (March 1857), 362.

28. HBCA, A14/50, A14/53, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

29. Nor'Wester, (December 1859).

30. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (May 1860), 617.

31. Nor'Wester, (May 14, 1860 and October 29, 1860).

32. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, (January 1861), 103-104.

33. Nor'Wester, (February 1861).

34. Ibid., (May 28, 1862).

35. Ibid., (November 9 and 15, 1864).

36. HBCA, A14/56, Grand Ledger. "Consignments to Canada".

37. Nor'Wester, (Nov. 9 and 15, 1864).

38. HBCA, A14/59, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

39. Nor'Wester, (September 22, 1865).

40. HBCA, A14/62-63, A14/65, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

41. HBCA, A14/65, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

42. HBCA, A14/66, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

43. PAM, P2342, Matilda Davis Papers, Box 1, File 9, (George Davis Corr.), Letter to George Davis (Portage La Prairie) August 3, 1870, 910-913.

44. HBCA, A14/67, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

45. HBCA, A14/68, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

46. HBCA, A14/68, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

47. HBCA, A14/68-71, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

48. HBCA, A12/16, fo.6, Grahame to Wm. Armit, June 15, 1874.

49. HBCA, A14/72, Grand Leger, "Consignments to Canada".

50. HBCA, A14/71-74, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

51. HBCA, A14/72-74, Grand Ledger, "Consignments to Canada".

APPENDIX D

Family Reconstitution and the use of Parish Registers

Family reconstitution is the bringing together of scattered information about members of a family to enable its chief demographic characteristics to be described as fully as possible. For example, figure 21 shows the range of information which can be recovered in favourable circumstances. The family of Pascal Breland was a large family. Between the ages of sixteen and forty-one his wife Maria Grant bore him fifteen children. Of these only four died, three before the age of five. Eight of the remaining 11 children had married before 1890, and all before the age of 22. Records of this sort are the building blocks, which when put together, reveal the demographic structure of the past, and allow this structure to be related to many aspects of economic and social life.

To reconstitute a large number of families in a single community necessitates the existence of fairly complete parish registers and the systematic use of them. It is, of course, not possible to reconstitute fully all the families in a parish by making use of the registers of that parish alone, as no parish was a closed community. Individuals and families moved in and out, so that only in a small percentage of cases can families be fully reconstituted. A much larger percentage can be partially reconstituted and used in the calculation of some demographic indices.[1] Despite the fact that not all families can

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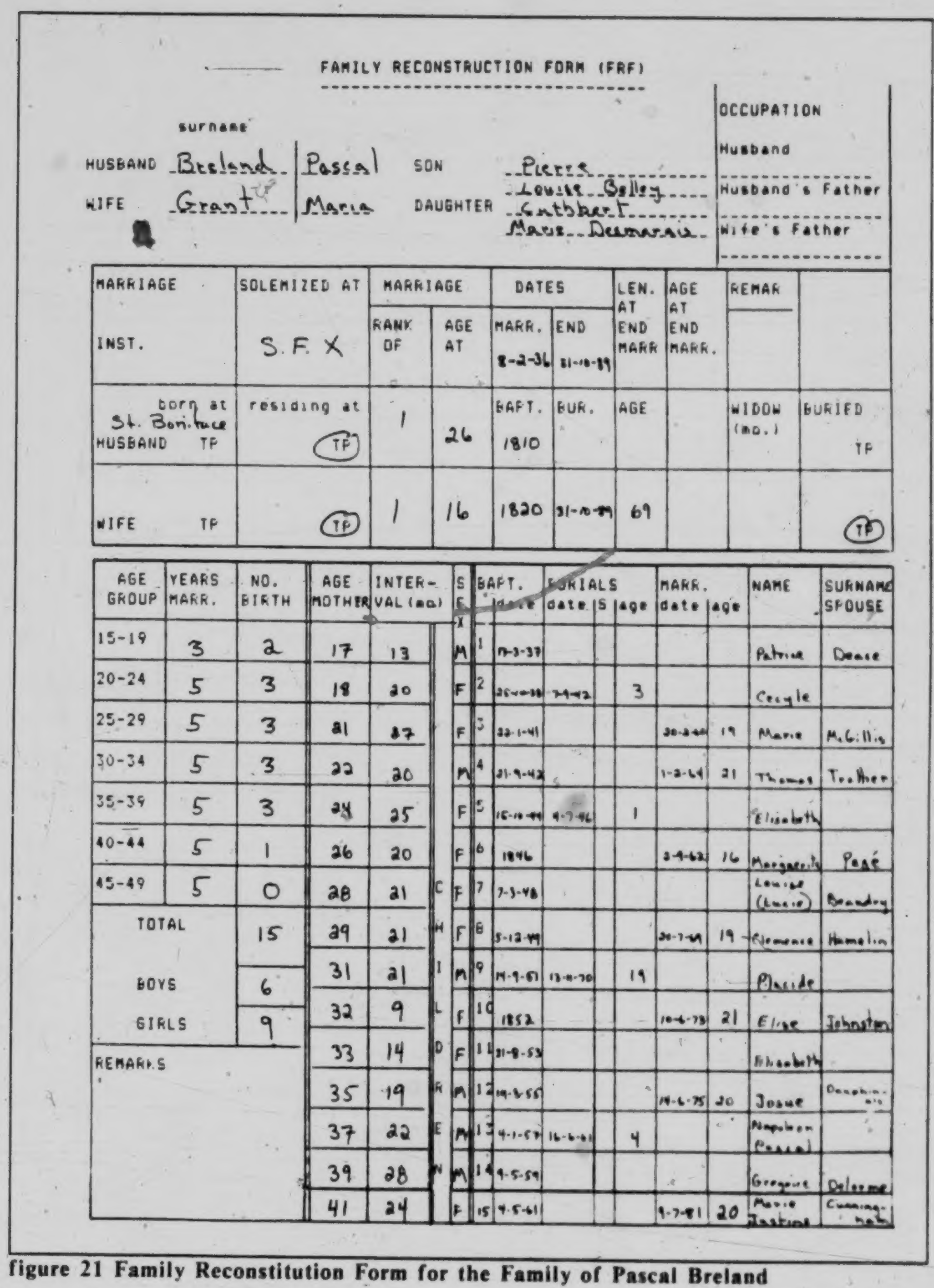
[1] Standard procedures of family reconstitution divide families into three groups: complete families, truncated families, and incomplete families. Complete families are those in which the spouses were still alive when the wife reached 45. Births after the age of 45 were rare in 19th century families. These completed families can optionally be sorted into two subgroups: 1) completed families in which the wife was in her first marriage; and 2) the completed families in which the wife was remarried. Truncated



FAMILY RECONSTRUCTION FORM (FRF)

surname

HUSBAND Breland | Pascal SON Pierre

WIFE Grant | Maria DAUGHTER Louise Belley

Cuthbert

Marie Desmarais

OCCUPATION

Husband

Husband's Father

Wife's Father

MARRIAGE INST.	SOLEMIZED AT S. F. X	MARRIAGE RANK OF	 AGE AT	DATES MARR. 8-2-36	 END 31-10-89	LEN. AT END MARR	AGE AT END MARR.	REMAR	
born at St. Boniface HUSBAND TP	residing at TP	1	26	BAPT. 1810	BUR.	AGE		WIDOW (mo.)	BURIED TP
WIFE TP	TP	1	16	1820	31-10-89	69			TP

AGE GROUP	YEARS MARR.	NO. BIRTH	AGE MOTHER	INTER-VAL (mo.)		SEX		BAPT. date	BURIALS date	S	age	MARR. date	age	NAME	SURNAME SPOUSE
15-19	3	2	17	13		M	1	17-3-37						Patrice	Deace
20-24	5	3	18	20		F	2	26-10-38	7-9-42		3			Cecyle	
25-29	5	3	21	27		F	3	22-1-41				20-2-60	19	Marie	McGillis
30-34	5	3	22	20		M	4	21-9-42				1-2-64	21	Thomas	Trother
35-39	5	3	24	25		F	5	15-10-44	9-7-46		1			Elisabeth	
40-44	5	1	26	20		F	6	1846				2-9-62	16	Marguerite	Pagé
45-49	5	0	28	21	C	F	7	7-3-48						Louise (Lucie)	Beaudry
TOTAL		15	29	21	H	F	8	5-12-49				20-7-69	19	Clemence	Hamelin
BOYS		6	31	21	I	M	9	14-9-51	13-11-70		19			Placide	
GIRLS		9	32	9	L	F	10	1852				10-6-73	21	Elise	Johnston
REMARKS			33	14	D	F	11	31-8-53						Elisabeth	
			35	19	R	M	12	19-3-55				14-6-75	20	Josue	Dauphinais
			37	22	E	M	13	4-1-57	16-6-61		4			Napoleon Pascal	
			39	28	N	M	14	9-5-59						Gregoire	Delorme
			41	24		F	15	9-5-61				9-7-81	20	Marie Justine	Cunningham

figure 21 Family Reconstitution Form for the Family of Pascal Breland

be reconstituted, this need not unduly hamper a study.

The parish registers of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's were not only complete for the entire period studied, but they did not have some of the drawbacks which are common in most parish records. One of the typical drawbacks is that registers do not report the events that the historian is particularly interested in. Often they give details of baptisms and burials, not of births and deaths. There is no general problem with burial records as burials usually took place within three days of death. Baptismal records present more of a problem since it was sometimes common to wait a month, even years after birth, before baptism. Additionally, parents sometimes brought two or more children to be baptised together even though they were born years apart. This was not a major problem in either of the parishes studied because parish registers usually recorded both the birth and baptismal dates. The only period of difficulty was in the years before 1840. These were the first years of registration in the parishes, and parents often brought a number of children in at the same time to be baptised. Sometimes the ages of these children were given, but more often they were not. The baptism of adults was usually noted and these were eliminated from calculations, but it proved impossible to determine the birth dates of many of the multiple baptisms of children where no ages were given. This problem ended after 1840 with the cessation of multiple baptisms in one family, and an almost universal reporting of age at baptism.[2]

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families were those in which one of the spouses died before the wife reached the age of 45. Incomplete families includes all families for which the date at the end of observation does not correspond to the death of one of the spouses or occurs before the wife has reached the age of 45. Most families who migrate out of the parish fall into this category, and the date of emigration corresponds with the date at the end of observation. See René Leboutte, George Alter, and Myron Gutmann, "Analysis of Reconstituted Families: A Package of SAS Programs," Historical Methods 20, No. 1 (Winter 1987): 30-31.

[2] From this brief elucidation of some of the problems of parish registers, it will be obvious that while a good run of parish records is the best source from which to reconstitute families, qualitative sources of data such as letters, and family records are an invaluable aid.

Another typical problem with the reconstitution of families from parish registers is the systematic exclusion of families of another faith. In the case of St. Francois Xavier, parish records would exclude all non-Catholics, and in the case of St. Andrew's all non-Protestants. This did not prove a problem in St. Francois Xavier as the parish was almost totally Catholic.[3] St. Andrew's presented a few more problems. The parish was as predominantly Protestant as St. Francois was Catholic, but the presence of a significant number of Presbyterian families[4] (St. Andrew's was an Anglican parish) raised the possibility of excluding a significant number of families. Before 1850 this was no problem as there was no Presbyterian church in the settlement, and Presbyterian families baptised their children in the Anglican Church. After 1851, however, a number of these families began to baptise their children in the Kildonan Church, when the Presbyterian congregation was organized in that parish. This continued until 1862 when the Presbyterian community in St. Andrew's, known as Little Britain, received their own minister, and began keeping their own church registers. To compensate for the omission of these families in the Anglican registers after 1851, the Kildonan registers were checked from 1851-62,[5] and the Little Britain registers checked after 1862.

One last note should be made about some of the different reporting procedures in St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's. In the Protestant parishes such as St. Andrew's the clergy often recorded only the bare minimum of information. While baptismal entries usually gave birth and baptismal dates and the names of the parents and child, marriage entries were far less complete. At times the names of the bride, groom, and parents were given, along with the date of the marriage and ages of the couple, but more often some of this information was omitted. Especially troublesome were those instances when both parents' names were missing, and the ages of the couple was not given. With this crucial marriage information missing subsequent baptisms in the family were also hard to place. This was particularly the case with common family names such as: Flett, McDonald, McKay, Mowat, Sanderson,[6] and Spence. For example, in St. Andrew's there were seven families headed by a Donald McDonald (two of whom remarried), with four different Nancys married to three different Donald McDonalds. Thus the baptism of a child to Donald and Nancy[7] McDonald became a real detective game.

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[3] By checking the registers of Kildonan, St. John's, and St. Andrew's than a half dozen Protestant families were identified as living in St. Francois Xavier. These families, when baptising children in these parishes, were identified as living on the White Horse Plains.

[4] Most of Presbyterians in the parish of St. Andrew's settled in a locality known as Little Britain. A Presbyterian Church was built here in 1853. It received its first full-time minister in 1862, after which time separate parish registers were kept. Until this time church registers for this congregation were kept with those at Kildonan.

[5] Baptisms, marriages and burials of the members of these families, were noted in the Kildonan registers as coming from Little Britain.

To make up for this deficiency of information, and to help in the linkage of families, recourse was made to the census of 1870, which recorded the age and father's name for each individual listed. Also used were the genealogical affidavits collected by the Government of Canada from 1875-79. These family histories were collected by government commissioners to determine who was eligible to receive scrip. These affidavits provided information on parentage, age, and spouse.[8]

As a rule the registers of St. Francois Xavier were much more complete. Baptismal entries not only listed baptismal and birth dates, the name of the child, and the names of the parents, but the names of the godparents, and a list of witnesses. Marriage entries almost always listed the names of the parents of the couple in addition to information about the marriage pair themselves. Occasionally the age at marriage was omitted, and in these cases recourse was made to the 1870 or 1881 census and the affidavits of 1875-79. But even with this much fuller reporting there were some difficulties with common names such as Desjarlais, Desmarais, Larocque, Lepine, and Ledoux. Especially problematic in St. Francois Xavier were the family names Leveille and Lavallee. Different priests, at different times, would use both spellings for children in the same family making it necessary to consult other sources to untangle these families.

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[6] At different times and with different ministers reporting, Sanderson could be spelt Saunderson.

[7] At different times the name Nancy would also show up as Ann.

[8] These affidavits are found in NAC, RG 15, Vols. 1319-1324. For more information on these affidavits see the introduction to D. N. Sprague and R. P. Frye, The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), 30-31.

The sequence of operations in reconstituting the families of the two parishes studied followed the six stages outlined by E. A. Wrigley in his guide to family reconstitution.[9] The six stages included: 1) preliminary analysis of the register for completeness and to map out aggregate trends; 2) transfer of raw data from the registers to standard slips;[10] 3) sorting of the slips into sets; 4) reconstitution of families on Family Reconstitution Forms (see figure 21); 5) the calculation of some dates on the FRF's from other information provided, such as age at marriage and burial, age at end of marriage, and length of marriage; 6) the calculation and derivation of measures of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality from the information on FRF's. Of the six stages, the first five were completed manually. At this point the information on the family reconstitution forms was entered into the computer and the last stage was completed using a set of SAS (Statistical Analysis System) statistical programs developed at the

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[9] This is found in chapter 4 of E. A. Wrigley, An Introduction to English Historical Demography. These techniques, elaborated by Wrigley, were based on methods developed by Louis Henry.

[10] A separate data slip was made out for each event (baptism, marriage, burial).

University of Texas at Austin.[11] At a considerable saving of time, these programs generated most of the tables and measures used in part II of this thesis. The only exception were the mortality rates and tables, which were calculated manually. For some reason, unknown at the time of writing, the SAS mortality program was not working.

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[11] For a description of these programs see René Leboutte, George Alter, and Myron Gutmann, "Analysis of Reconstituted Families: A Package of SAS Programs." The author was able to obtain a copy of these programs from Myron Gutmann, at the Texas Population Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

APPENDIX E

Yearly Infant Mortality Rates for St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's 1834-1890

ST. ANDREW'S

Year	Deaths under one year of age[1]	Live Births	Infant Mortality Rate (deaths/live births)x1000
1834	3	55	54
1835	1	48	20
1836	1	57	17.5
1837	2	45	44.4
1838	2	54	37
1839	0	35	0
1840	6	52	115.4
1841	3	45	66.7
1842	2	28	71.4
1843	8	46	173.9
1844	7	44	159.1
1845	2	44	45.5
1846	12	51	235.3
1847	3	41	73.2
1848	3	49	61.2
1849	1	72	13.9
1850	4	46	87
1851	1	51	19.6
1852	3	60	50
1853	0	51	0
1854	10	57	175.4
1855	14	63	222.2
1856	6	62	96.7
1857	3	60	50
1858	5	62	80.6
1859	2	48	41.6
1860	4	61	65.6
1861	6	77	77.9
1862	10	72	138.9

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[1] These infant deaths were those recorded in the same year as the live birth. As a result some of the children who died would have been born in the previous calendar year. If calculated for only one year this might throw off the infant mortality rate, but over a span of consecutive years it would be self correcting or even out.

Year	Deaths under one year of age	Live Births	Infant Mortality Rate (deaths/live births)x1000
1863	11	67	164.2
1864	14	94	148.9
1865	11	75	146.7
1866	13	58	224.1
1867	2	59	33.9
1868	5	53	94.3
1869	9	69	130.4
1870	5	36	138.9
1871	16	65	246.2
1872	15	59	254.2
1873	14	59	237.3
1874	15	69	217.4
1875	11	38	289.5
1876	18	10	1800
1877	15	28	535.7
1878	11	56	196.4
1879	9	49	183.6
1880	5	59	84.7
1881	8	49	163.3
1882	10	50	200
1883	10	56	178.6
1884	7	51	137.3
1885	9	67	134.3
1886	10	65	153.8
1887	10	66	151.5
1888	12	73	164.4
1889	14	66	212.1
1890	2	44	45.5

St. Francois Xavier

Year	Deaths under one year of age	Live Births	Infant Mortality Rate (deaths/live births)x1000 live births
1834	3	33	90.9
1835	3	33	90.9
1836	5	30	166.7
1837	2	32	62.5
1838	2	40	50
1839	3	45	66.7
1840	1	37	27
1841	3	50	60
1842	1	54	18.5
1843	6	49	122.4
1844	6	53	113.2

Year	Deaths under one year of age	Live Births	Infant Mortality Rate (deaths/live births)x1000
1845	5	41	121.9
1846	12	40	300
1847	0	53	0
1848	1	43	22.3
1849	3	53	56.6
1850	4	61	65.6
1851	6	58	103.4
1852	5	53	56.6
1853	6	75	80
1854	3	69	43.5
1855	12	65	184.6
1856	7	76	92.1
1857	4	83	48.2
1858	5	86	58.1
1859	3	92	32.6
1860	15	99	151.5
1861	7	127	55.1
1862	5	93	53.8
1863	9	111	81.1
1864	5	115	43.5
1865	16	111	144.1
1866	12	118	101.7
1867	10	114	87.7
1868	13	107	121.5
1869	5	101	49.5
1870	12	93	129
1871	15	93	161.3
1872	20	111	180.2
1873	32	80	400
1874	15	64	234.4
1875	16	57	280.7
1876	15	47	319.1
1877	11	66	166.6
1878	17	46	369.6
1879	12	78	153.8
1880	21	74	283.7
1881	25	63	396.8
1882	15	62	241.9
1883	13	55	236.4
1884	7	55	127.3
1885	9	58	155.2
1886	14	43	325.6
1887	12	62	193.5
1888	7	43	162.8
1889	12	43	279.1
1890	9	68	132.4

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